National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XVII. NO. 9. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1856. WHOLE NO. 841.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, 138 Nassau St., New York,

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

31 *North Fifth St., Philadelphia.*

Advertisements inserted at $1 per square for the first insertion, and 25 cents for every subsequent one. For advertisements less than a square, 50 cents for each insertion.

NORRIS & JOHNSTON, PRINTERS.

Pro-Slavery.

MORE CANT FROM DOCTOR COX.

From The Journal of Commerce.

THE NATION EIGHTY YEARS OLD THIS DAY.

In these stimulating and critical times, it seems difficult for an honest and sober clergyman either to keep his place or sometimes to know what and where his place is. Loving as I do my country, "with all its faults," yet not loving its faults, I desire to do any proper thing for its welfare that I can do in consistency with my official duties as a minister of a *kingdom not of this world*.

Our national crisis is alarming; and demonstrates some results and perils, which we have predicted, from processes at work to produce them, of which we know the operation; and the consequences of which, when they occur to the common damage, are ignored by the authors of the means that induced them. They do mischief, and then say—What a pity! I told you so!

Ministers of Christ ought to preach—not politics, but the Gospel. This is their theme, and their storehouse of themes, for the education of the people, *and their offspring with them*, for heaven. This is *never* to be superseded, or neglected, or performed with a slack hand. Time for eternity should they *redeem*.

I think also that a minister of Christ ought not to be a partisan, certainly not a sectionalist. He ought to be superior to both. He cannot properly be a mere servile or an appendix to some human person and his fortunes, as a candidate for office, presidential or any other. There is a happy medium. He has duties to his country, especially in the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. He ought to pray in private, and especially in public, for his country; and this with solemn and confiding intercession for its temporal and spiritual welfare. Our country is worth praying for; and when prayer is genuine, I can say, with the late Dr. J. M. Mason, then the star of the American pulpit, "I have more confidence in sincere prayer than in any other power; more in one praying pauper than in forty fighting generals." I only add, that a minister should show such a portrait, such a patriarch, in his public prayer, that the people should see no partisan, no fanatic, no short-sighted zealot, in his manner of performing it. I fear that our fierce pulpit declaimers pray more often at men, and at parties, than to God, at all! I wish they would examine themselves, on this question, individually; how often, and how much, do you pray *in your closet*, for our country, our rulers, our States and Territories? Or, is it, *Coram Domino*, all reserved for public display, and popular effect, and pulpit magnificence? ALL this—and *none* private? For such ministers, it might be a serious inconvenicnce, if they and Judas can find no *ex-officio* salvation!

That no Senator or other member of Congress ought to be injured for words spoken in debate, is certainly true! No more true, however, than this—that no man ought to be personal and exasperating in what he speaks or writes. I abhor the late outrage that assailed a Senator with blows, as neither just, nor courageous, nor chivalrous, nor gentlemanly, nor according to the oath of office, which every official takes to support the supremacy of the laws; and as of monstrously evil example: yet I like not at all the very wrath-provoking style of the speech that occasioned it—and of which I remarked to a friend, before the assault, I am hurt, and ashamed of members of Congress, in upper or lower House, that will degrade themselves, and their high station, by indulging in language so studiously abusive, and so abominably vulgar, and so outrageously severe. Were I a partisan, probably I should be constrained to say only one, and not both of these, as now sincerely and with grief I write it!

The late remarks of Everett I could appreciate, as worthy of an American. They were those of a patriot, a statesman, a scholar, a son of the soil that covers the bones of his ancestors, of a philosophic friend to the species worthy of the eulogist of Washington. *O si sic omnes!*

Ought a minister of the Gospel to vote? Ordinarily, I should say, certainly; he ought to vote! If he ought to pray for the country, ought he not also to act for the country? This has ever been my principle and my practice; and I have maintained it, probably, with little or no offence. But a partisan, an electioneering busybody, a minister ought not to be, if others ought.

For whom I shall vote, B——, or F——, or F——, I shall probably know, if I live till November, and am in health, and fit for action, by the favour of God. But of one thing, I am not afraid to write, or speak in public, or pray in pulpit or in closet, and that is—I will never vote, or act, or speak, for anything, directly or indirectly, that tends to sectionalize the country, or make civil war, or dissolve the UNION! Never—No! Tendencies, as history mournfully shows, become actualities often; and that, before common forecast anticipates or believes it. Where passion rules, reason vanishes. "In the agonizing spasms of infuriated man," as Jefferson phrases it, how often are we precipitated, in the spirit of red wrath, to spring a mine, to conflagrate a city, to "deluge all Holland," or to enact some other potent mischief, for which no repentance can ever begin to be an atonement.

I believe that, could the furies, who coolly or warmly speak of burning the Constitution and dissolving the Union, accomplish, in their hot haste, all that they desire and intend, as is their boast, they would find, too late for themselves and all others, that they had only enacted universal mischief; that they had cured no evil; they had only made bad infinitely worse; and that their success were only the worst kind of defeat, for all parties! It would damage the North, the South, the East, the West, all in one confusion of ruin. It would bless—not the slave, more than his master; and all the best hopes of civilization, philanthropy and Christian freedom would perish, with that stellar arch that makes our country's wondrous firmament! God grant that so wasting a desolation may NEVER occur!

In a word, are we a Christian people? a nation of Christians, at least nominally such, in the main? Why not try to treat each other in a way corresponding with that high profession? Forbearance, patience, wisdom, considerate prudence, yes! and prayer to God for our country and all its interests, amplified and perpetuated by his own Providence, as our GREAT JEHOVAH STATOR, THE OMNIPOTENT LORD PATRON, THE ALL-SUFFICIENT CUSTODIAN, OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Our country is fourscore years of age this day! Blessed be God that it has so marvellously outlived, and falsified the "monthly prognosticators," the wish-framed predictions of its enemies! that it now commences the last score of its first century of nationality and independence! that in its inaugurated age, its venerable Octogenarian Maturity, its children, and its grand children, and its unborn hundreds of millions of posterity, may begin gratefully to rejoice before the God of our fathers; determined that, by his assisting mercy, we will grow wiser and better, stronger and nobler; and that the disintegration of our national UNION shall exist no more, even in the imagination of an American!

At home in my study, this FOURTH OF JULY, I could not but think of my country, and pray for it. Hence these extemporized tributes of an old clergyman to his countrymen. For eight generations my forefathers sleep in hope in Maryland, near Easton; in Delaware, near Dover; in Pennsylvania, near and in Philadelphia; and some of them in OLD New England! Shall I not love this country? O God! preserve and bless, and save, the people of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA!

SAMUEL HANSON COX.

Vesper Cliff, Owego, New York.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY MAN OF THE NORTH searches the Scriptures for anathemas against masters, and insurrectionary counsels for slaves. The total absence of both from those holy pages does not humble his pride nor shake his confidence, nor soften his asperity. What he cannot find in dogma he evolves from inference. He perceives that the principles of Christianity, applied as he would apply them, would produce necessities which might be expressed in such formulas as "Slavery is the sum of all villanies"; "Slaveholding is essentially sin"; and thenceforward these formulas are Scripture to him. With them he is prepared to solve the highest problems of moral conduct. Nothing can be more simple than the process. The whole phenomena of mastership, intellectual, moral and physical, are immediately reduced to the common expression: sin—sin absolute, positive, incapable of increase or diminution, independendent of accidents, unaffected by circumstances, unqualified by conditions. The "sum of all villanies" admits of no aggregation; permits no subtractions. It is the only thing in the universe absolutely perfect and complete. To reform it, improve it, make any good out of it, are absurdities in terms. To extirpate it, at all costs to good men and bad, by religion and civilization, to master and slave, this is the great, if not the sole, duty of mankind. Love hates it, brotherly kindness scoffs at it, charity curses it, meekness violently assails it, patience is in a ruge to destroy it; in view of it Christianity reverses its whole nature, and violates its whole spirit; prayer burdens the air with anathemas; the ministers of reconciliation become the trumpeters of strife; conversion of souls is postponed to a more convenient season; the pulpit, no longer a "sacred desk," becomes an "ecclesiastical drum"; the people have their "conversation" anywhere else but "in heaven"; religion and piety cease to have any necessary connection; and the world without, perceiving itself to be at least as much like Christ as those within, remark, not without pain, "How these Christians hate one another."

In all this there is sincerity, but it is the sincerity of ignorance, and pride, and passion. There is nothing of the humble and docile about it. The fanatical Abolitionist would give up the cross of Christ as soon as his anti-slavery dogmas; indeed, not a few, pressed by the necessity to choose, prefer to abandon Jesus.—*Christian Advocate and Journal.*

Selections.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS,

At Framingham, Mass., July 4th, 1856.

REPORTED BY J. M. W. YERRINTON.

From The Liberator.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I was glad to hear the speech of my friend Pillsbury, this morning, and also that to which we have just listened, from Mr. Foss. I do not think we can do any better work than to examine the positions of the political movements of our day. As I said at the hall, I think we are to understand our friend Pillsbury's direction to let the Republican party alone in the light of his example, and leave it alone just as he does! (Laughter and cheers.) When I was making this remark to one who is now in this audience, he said to me, "It is very easy to criticise the work that other men do." That suggested to me a word to say to the Abolitionists about me, that mere criticism, merely undertaking to criticise and expose the wrong positions of politicians, becomes impudence, nothing but impudence, unless we see to it that we earn the right to criticise by unfaltering devotion and activity in our own field. I hold that no Garrisonian has a right to criticise Henry Wilson or Charles Sumner until he feels he can honestly say, "I do all I can in the moral field." These men are wrong in their position. What our friends have told us is very true. I do not know a greater harm than, I think, has been done to the anti-slavery cause, even by the unequalled merit, in one sense, of Charles Sumner. It will lead those who love him, in blindness, I think, as to the bad influence of his political and civil position; but no man who has any self-respect has a right to stand up among his fellows, and call these men to account, who has not, by sacrifice, by contributions, by labour, by self-devotion, shown that, in his own field, he is willing to cover all the ground he can. I always feel, except from the lips of one whose labour recommends him, that such criticism is very ungraceful. I warn you, therefore, that in all our discussions with the political parties, in regard to their leading men, each of these discussions should be a memento to us of a better, more earnest, more thorough performance of our own duty. Let it be a spur in our sides. Let no spectator have it in his power to say—"He spends a great deal of empty breath—that is all he spends, for the anti-slavery cause." It is a high position that we take when we undertake to criticise the men to whom the country listens, and to whose conscientious honesty of purpose and rare fidelity, on many occasions, every man must do justice. It was a consecrated hand that touched the ark. He must be a bold man who undertakes to stretch forth his hand with anything but sympathy to the prostrate Massachusetts Senator. Earn the right by an anti-slavery position that shall show that your criticism is based on love for the slave, not hatred, not jealousy, not even the petty differences of opinion that sometimes divide common labourers. We are to guard this point, we Garrisonians.

I want to say this much, because these meetings of ours, especially when such a rain as this has cleared off the surplusage, and left us nothing but heart, are the gathered essence of the most radical anti-slavery. You know when alcohol freezes, the useless matter goes into the ice, and in the absolute centre of the congealed mass there will be found one single drop, living as the concentrated essence of all spirit. So with this meeting. We have sloughed off the margin, and have nothing left but the true spirit (cheers).

No man, Mr. Chairman, has a right to be surprised at the present state of things. It is just what we have attempted to bring about. My friend Swasey was telling us, this morning, what slavery has done. She has stolen Texas, crushed Kansas, usurped the Government, left the Presidential chair empty. What has she done? She has done just exactly what we have been tempting her to do—that is, she has developed herself. The Slave Power had always the same power and the same wish; it is the anti-slavery enterprise that has developed that wish into an act. It is just what we expected, exactly. The forces at last are ranged face to face. Our friends have not turned to the bright side of the matter to-day; but there is merit in the Republican party. It is this. It is the first sectional party ever organized in this country. It does not know its own face, and it calls itself national; but it is not national, it is sectional. It is the North arrayed against the South. Henry Wilson said to me, "We must get every Northern State, in order to elect Fremont." Even in imagination, he did not count upon a single Southern State. It was a distinct recognition of the fact that the Republican party is a party of the North, pledged against the South. THEODORE PARKER wanted to know once where disunion would begin. I will tell him: just where that party divides. That is a Northern party against the Southern. I do not call it an anti-slavery party; it has not risen to that yet. It is a Northern party against the Southern. They made the first little breach. The first crack in the iceberg is visible; you will yet hear it go, with a crack, through to the centre. Its first distinct recognition was Banks's election. He was elected by Northern men—not a man from the South voting for him. That is the value of that party. I hail it as a sign—as a great gain. I did not hope to see it for ten years; it has come unexpectedly early.

Looked at in that light, the Republican party is a great gain. Looked at in any other, it is an absurdity. I will tell you what I mean. In 1776, in 1765, had James Otis, and Joseph Warren, and John Adams agitated *politically* through New England, in order to secure themselves seats in the English House of Commons, we should have been under Victoria to-day. But they went to Bunker Hill, and here we are. Now, the Republican party is committing just that mistake. It is agitating for a political result, when the times demand REVOLUTION. If Otis and Adams had thrown away the enthusiasm of 1765 on agitation for the ballot, you would never have heard of them; or all you would have heard of them would have been that they were obscure fanatics, arrested somewhere as traitors, and who died of jail fever. They knew their time; they read their epoch; they knew it did not ask for ballots, but for bullets, and therefore they went to Bunker Hill. Now, what the present time demands is not agitation about the territories. We shall have a Summer of talk, of agitation. It will be just as if we took a strong cup of tea, and plunged it into an ocean of warm water, and made a homœopathic dose of it. You take the Kansas outrage, or that upon Mr. Sumner, and dilute it into one thousand political speeches, and it is a homœopathic dose of nothing. But if, instead of doing so, you were to take these two events, and carry them to the people, and say, "The time has come for Massachusetts to call her representatives home," and begin that course of conduct which is to create a Northern Republic, those two events would bear fruit. They never will. They are fated to gradually slope down until they are lost. That is the way all things are lost. Events crowd on us so fast that they lose their effect. Take the history of the last five years, make a note of it, write it in a book, and then let an indifferent spectator read Macaulay's account of the reign of James the Second, which changed the face of English history, and our history for that brief period is ten times blacker than Macaulay's. But we do not think of it. We think they had terrible times in the Revolution—threepence a pound on tea! They had never begun to feel the weight of a yoke such as slavery is now fastening on the white men of our State. Had our fathers acted in the same way, in a similar position, there would have been no Revolution. The lesson of the present time is, there is no great party willing to face the crisis. The politicians are not willing. They are willing to hold on. I asked a leading politician, the other day, what was to be done if they did not elect Fremont. "O," said he, "we shall do better four years hence." So he held on.

I do not know anything against Col. Fremont, except that the Boston *Post* says he once ate dog's meat; and I do not wonder every Democratic puppy objects to that (laughter and applause). But the question is not, what are his defects? but, what are his merits? What has he done to deserve, in this crisis, the confidence of that anti-slavery sentiment that has been thirty years in creating, and which has got to grapple with a despotism stronger than the world knows? I have no doubt that if he says he is opposed to slavery, he is; that is, I do not think he is a liar. I think he is an honest man to that extent. But you want a man whose past life pledges him to a consistent, systematic, determined issue with the Slave Power itself; for, if this election goes for Buchanan, not only is Kansas to be conquered, but Mexico is to be stolen and Cuba annexed, and, with these additional weights thrown into the scale of the Slave Power, the whole nation will soon be in chains.

Now, I have great hopes. I think Fremont will be defeated. I think there is great chance that Buchanan will be elected. I have no hope for Kansas. How can I have? Where are the hundred men who went from Chicago? Why, they went through Missouri, and laid down their arms at the feet of a mob! Fifty men from the city of Worcester met with the same fate. A thousand dollars from the town of Concord alone gone into the treasury of the Missouri mob. Who wishes to breathe a word against the earnestness of spirit that would rush to the succour and protection of Kansas? But, at the same time, let us see if these men are acting wisely. If we are to aid the Missourians, let us send them the muskets, but not the men. Fifty per cent. of the muskets bought in New England are to-day in the hands of the Missourians. It is an expensive way of treating them. If you want to send muskets, send them; box them up, and label them, "To the Missouri Mob at Lexington or Leavenworth." But do not send them in the hands of men, to be surrendered at the first summons. How the South will glory over such a defeat! It is not Yankee to be cheated thus! I hoped, when I read the story, that the men carried Quaker guns, and had sent the real ones another way, but it seems they were real ones. Old Concord, that sent those guns to the Missouri mob, did a glorious thing to-day, for she does not fire a musket nor ring a bell. The muskets that met the British on Concord Green did not fire to such a day as this. Glory to old Concord! She knows when to fire her muskets, and when to keep her powder for another time (cheers). I wish there were more such towns in Massachusetts that knew the crisis in which we stand. That has the smell of the old instinct that sought the British, and that the British sought first, in the days when they ventured to grapple with the revolutionary spirit. I like it. It shows that the blood that flowed from the wounds on Concord Green left the same character of blood behind. I like another thing. Off in Missouri, Mr. Swasey tells us, they say that no Boston man shall be permitted to visit Kansas. Very well. There were two Boston men, John Hancock and Sam Adams, that the British hated in 1776. I am glad Boston has earned the same reputation in 1856. Massachusetts was always a *cantankerous* State, and I hope she will be so in the present Revolution. Men and women, let us earn the same reputation, that when liberty is cloven down, and oppression seeks to gain an undivided triumph, the first obstacle she finds in her way in 1856, as in 1776, shall be Massachusetts! (Applause.)

I have this criticism to make, Mr. Chairman, upon the Republican party. I read to-day that the Canada Legislature (the lower branch) had voted fifty thousand pounds to build a Parliament House, and that the higher branch (answering to our Senate) had refused the whole appropriation bill for the expenses of the government; and the Canadian government stands at a dead lock to-day, because one branch will not vote the appropriations, for the reason that the other has been extravagant in its appropriations for building. That is the game I want the Republican party to play here, if they have got any principle. Mr. Giddings moved in the House of Representatives that the appropriation bill should be stopped, because it included forty thousand dollars for the surrender of Margaret Garner at Cincinnati. They voted him down; but it was the duty of the Republican party in the House then and there to have voted the whole appropriation bill down, unless that item was stricken out. A Republican said to me, at the close of our forenoon services, "Why did Mr. Pillsbury not mention that CHARLES SUMNER would deny his obligation to put down a slave insurrection"? Said I, "Probably one reason was because, while Mr. Sumner stands in that position, he cannot effectually evade the responsibility." At any rate, he has not opposed, nor asked others to oppose, the appropriation bills for the last five years. What right had he to vote for them? Every one of them has had mixed up in it money for the return of fugitive slaves; and while the Republican party allows the government to go on, and pays its expenses, without making that a distinct issue, and bringing all its force to bear upon that point, I say it is responsible for the return of fugitive slaves. They cannot say that they are not able to do it. They are able, if not to check, at least to commence a system of checking the expenses of the government. I call upon them to do it. That is a practical point; it is one easily made; it is one terrific in its operation; it is one that goes directly to the pocket. It is nothing abstract; it has a close and every day force, which every man sees, and every man may be made to feel it. It is the duty of the Republican party to do this. The blood of the fugitive slave is on their skirts until they do it. They are fairly responsible for all the evil of the government itself, until they undertake it. They have no claim to be considered an anti-slavery party until it is done. To do it would widen the breach between the North and the South, and so hasten the dissolution of the Union or the abolition of slavery. I believe we are near it. Did you note the extracts Mr. Garrison read us this morning? Go back to the Revolution, and you cannot find an English newspaper speaking of America, or an American paper speaking of England, in such a spirit as the Southern press uses towards the North to-day. Union! if the language of the Richmond press, and the South Carolina press, and the speeches on the floor of Congress, are to be taken as an index of the state of Southern feeling, Union will not be possible fifteen years. They cannot bear us; and if they continue this sort of criticising, we cannot bear them. It is impossible. There never was such language used of a sister country. France never criticised England, when she hated her most, England never criticised France, when she despised her most, as the Virginia press criticises Northern men and Northern Senators to-day. You cannot parallel such things in the political discussions of hostile nations in the history of civilization. Now, do you suppose that such a press could exist and the Union survive? Never; it must either be put down or the Union must be put down. It will not be borne forever; it will not be borne long; it is impossible.

My friend Mr. Pillsbury compared the nation, very beautifully, to the ruins of Tintern Abbey. I should rather except to his comparison of the anti-slavery movement to the ivy that so gracefully covers the crumbling ruins. The anti-slavery movement conceals no ruins. O, no! that is Republicanism. I think the Republican party suits his figure, that endeavours, with the green and winding luxuriance of its lavish eulogy of the Union, to conceal the ruin into which it has fallen. My fault with the Republican party is that it is one of defence. The Liberty party was on the defensive, the Free Soil party was on the defensive, the Republican party is on the defensive; and each one of them has been driven back, back, back, until now the Republican party has nothing to defend—nothing but the anti-slavery spirit of the days of Washington and Jefferson! Fremont is a great discoverer: I know he has scaled the tops of the Rocky Mountains, and fathomed the bottom of the Western valleys; but I defy him to discover the anti-slavery spirit of Washington and Jefferson's administrations. They want to carry the country back to the policy of the first two administrations of the government. They were, both of them, broad, gigantic steps towards the triumph of the Slave Power at the present day. The very first page of the history of the government is a compromise, and the second is the Fugitive Slave law of Washington's own administration; and with Jefferson we came to the annexation of unmeasured slave territory, and the admission of slave States.

No, we are not the ivy, friend Pillsbury! The glory of the anti-slavery movement is that it never stops to be attacked. The only possible anti-slavery movement in this country is an aggressive one. We are very small in numbers; we have got no wealth; we have got no public opinion behind us; the only thing that we can do is, like the eagle, singly to fly at our enemy, and pick out his eyes (applause). We must carry on the battle aggressively; each man singling out his foe, and fighting him. You let the South gain half the battle, by allowing her to begin the attack. There is no gallantry in defence, no enthusiasm in it, until a man is driven to his own hearthstone, and defends his cradle. In all great contests, it is the minority attacks, if it carries the day. The great defect of the present day is that we are always crying out, "mercy, we don't mean that"; and "beg your pardon, we only want to defend the Territory over there beyond." I suspect every party that begins with an apology. Now, every political party in this country has commenced its platform and its speeches with a lavish eulogy of the Union. It got down on its knees first and said, "I beg pardon for being *suspected* of Abolitionism." "Black Republicans" the Administration papers call our friends; and every one of them gets up, and proves they are not blacker than anybody else. Instead of this, they ought to glory in it, and say, "Thank God! you suspect me of being a Black Republican; I was afraid that you would suspect me of being only a *white* one"! (Cheers.) They ought to be able to blister the lips of that editor who, with ten thousand Southern editors crying out, like Sterne's starling, "Black Republican," declares that he has no concern for the black race, and seeks only to save the whites. What is *our* merit? It is that we have earned the right to be called traitors and infidels; that is all the merit we have got. We must hold that right. If you go up and down history, and want to find who has done good to his age, find whom the rascals opposed, and you will be sure he done good to his generation. If you will show me a party that begins its platform without an apology, I will almost be tempted to vote, and strain my conscience, as Walley said he did in Congress; no matter—he has earned his pardon—he had a good word for Charles Sumner in Faneuil Hall (cheers). Whenever a party begins its platform thus—"We go for the abolition of slavery first, whether the Union survives it or not"—let that be the front, the beginning, the very sharpest edge of their axe—I know they will penetrate. If they will begin with that, with the declaration that Mr. Foss wanted the Methodists to make, "We love the slave more than we love the Constitution," if they will let the South know it, that is all I will ask. Why, if to-day you will only give me the despotic control of Massachusetts, with God's power to turn its mind and heart for twelve months, I will abolish slavery in three years. I will call home those Senators and Representatives. I will tell them to busy themselves in getting up a convention for Massachusetts alone to be a sovereign independent State. I will close up the Custom House doors, and write over them, "No one enters here until the emancipation of the slaves burst these doors with a shout of welcome from twenty-five millions of people" (loud cheers). The moment that news reaches Washington, that Massachusetts has begun a revolution, be sure some steps will be taken to get rid of slavery. It is only the first step that costs. Let it be known that the Choates and the Winthrops, the men who have not yet sacrificed their reputation—and Theodore Parker once said that when the flood is high, all the drift-wood comes to the shore—have bowed to Mr. Garrison; that the *Daily Advertiser* has taken off its hat to *The Liberator*; and instantly, if John C. Calhoun's bones hang together by a single ligament, he will get out of his coffin, and command the abolition of slavery (cheers). Public rumour says that Mr. Winthrop and the Whigs are about to close a bargain with the Democrats, and go over to the ranks of Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Winthrop cannot find it in his heart to go to Faneuil Hall, when Massachusetts is outraged on the floor of the Senate and Mr. Rives, of Virginia, thinks his position is "moderate," "constitutional," and report says that when the time comes, you will hear of him in the Democratic camp. Well, if he is, the only thing I should say would be this: Mr. Choate once thought, at Worcester, that he was very severe on Charles Francis Adams, when he spoke of John Quincy Adams as "the last of the Adamses"—annihilating the son. If Mr. Winthrop votes for Buchanan, while a Massachusetts Senator lies on his sick bed, the best friend of the name of Winthrop that ever lived will have cause to lament that the father of Robert Charles Winthrop was not the last of the Winthrops (prolonged cheering). When a Massachusetts man, and in a Massachusetts atmosphere, held up by Massachusetts confidence, is so blind to the spirit of his own day, so servile to the controlling elements of the government, that for office, for success, for revenge upon his rival, who took his own place in the Senate, he can violate all the memories of the past, and even at this day join the vile cohort that goes out for the conquest of Kansas, for the annexation of Cuba, and for the robbery of Mexico, Massachusetts cannot find, in all her vocabulary, epithets stinging enough to describe his degradation. [A Voice—"Tories."] "Tories!" The tories were honest men comparatively. They were only young Democrats gone to seed. But Winthrop never even wandered into the Democratic ranks until they became the refuge of all that was basest in the common sewers of the country (applause).

Yes, friends, it seems to me the main thing is that while we recognise every generous act, while we praise every noble word, while we seek to honour, with generous magnanimity, every devoted effort, even of the politician, in this matter, we should constantly bear our earnest testimony that nothing can be done in that direction. It is only an experiment to educate men to something better and higher. Look at it! Suppose Col. Fremont gets the government, say the Republican journals, cannot he abolish slavery? He does not get the government when he gets the Presidential chair. That is the mistake. The government is not office; the government is the Slave Power—nothing else. The present President, so called (what is his name? (Great laughter.) [A voice—"Pierce."] Yes. Pierce is not President of the United States; it is the Slave Power behind him. Poor fellow! he is the object of every man's pity—even Benton despises him. He is not President of the United States; but Caleb Cushing, who cannot be considered an individual, but only an impersonation of rascality itself—the essential servant of the Slave Power—a sort of magnetic spirit that seeks its own. The Slave Power is the government. The merchants of Boston are the Slave Power, who want the profits of the government; the manufacturers of New England are the Slave Power, who want the profits of cotton. It is the wealth of the country. A man said to me in Boston streets, "If you were to thrash CHARLES SUMNER twenty times, you could not thrash him into a gentleman." You will find hundreds of such men walking the pavements of Boston, owning the wealth of a hundred thousand dollars. That is the Slave Power, just as much as the "nephew of my uncle," who held the cane over Sumner's head, and let it down with so much force; that is the government. Now, put Fremont into the Presidential chair, and if he endeavoured to be an anti-slavery President, it would break the Union. If he continued to be President, he must be a pro-slavery President, for the very elements of strength are on that side. Take this town of Framingham in which we are. You know—you who live here—that the education and wealth of this town rule; that there are some score of families holding that sort of respectability and position in the town, that they may be considered *the town*, to all intents and purposes; and if, now and then, you get the control of the town, by a spasm, out of their hands, it falls back again. The people rose up in the Know-Nothing days, and, by a spasm of excitement, took Massachusetts out of the hands of the Whigs, who ruled it, not because they knew how, but because they could not help it, because they were the wealth of Massachusetts. It is a sort of firm anchorage, a dead-weight power; they were that power—they could not help it. Well, when the Know-Nothing spasm was over, and you had the Legislature that has just adjourned, they did not rule Massachusetts; it was the old Whigs in new shapes. Gen. Devereaux and Mr. Lord were only old Whigs with new names; it was the same thing. As the Scotch maniac told his company, he had a table spread with every variety of food, but, somehow or other, said he, it all tastes of gruel (laughter). It was the old party that took the lead again. It will rule Massachusetts unless you can keep people at a white heat, and you cannot do that for any length of time. Could we have got those three thousand men, who got together at that spontaneous meeting in Tremont Temple, to speak a word against the outrage upon Charles Sumner—could we have got those men together, and kept them as excited as they were then for a month, we could have revolutionized Massachusetts. But that spirit cannot be kept up. Enthusiasm dies out in an hour. It is like heat, here to-day, and gone to-morrow. What we want is to create an everlasting principle; a sentiment deep in the heart; a determination that loses no opportunity, that maintains its representatives in everything. I like Gen. Wilson's letter to Brooks, saying that he would not fight a duel with Brooks. It was a fair representation of Massachusetts feeling. But I should have liked it a great deal better if, when he received Brooks's letter, he had called for the fire-tongs and thrown it out of the window, and said, "No decent man can touch a letter with the name of that assassin at the bottom of it" (cheers). No, it is doing discredit to the assassin; a coward, a skulking thief; a man whom, as the resolutions at Cambridge, adopted by the Professors there, said, "language has no epithet to describe." That was a good meeting at Cambridge—a very good meeting. Ex-Governor Washburn, moderate man! conservative man! prudent man! could not go to the Worcester meeting, held to consider the outrage upon Charles Sumner. They sent to ask him why. He was overseer of Harvard College; thought it would compromise his eminent official position! And the next report brought an account of a meeting at Cambridge, and the adoption of resolutions that went a whole arrow's flight beyond the Worcester resolutions; and the Professors and officers of the College were all in it (laughter and cheers). I rejoice in it. It taught the skulking time-server what honest men felt it right and fitting to do. It taught him that there was an outrage so deep that it could stir up the icy and crystalline depths of Cambridge coldness to at least thought on the subject. I want a few more such. Excitement will waste away its strength. When Kansas is beaten to the ground, the enthusiasm that now stirs the Northern pulse like fire will be wasted and gone. All I ask is that you watch events. When you see Buchanan elected, Kansas trodden down in fire and blood, Mexico destroyed, Cuba purchased or stolen, will you be disunionists? You do not mean to wait for Toombs to actually call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill? That was only a figure; he will never do that; but he will do it in essence. You will never see the time when the country will be lower than it will be the next two years. It will be beaten to the dust; and if its spirit does not revive then, it never will revive, except by some great convulsion like the revolution.

Men will say, "This is rant; God reigns; Ideas will govern; the Right will triumph." No doubt of it. But, gentlemen, you know many efforts for liberty have failed. Wickliffe, Huss, and half a dozen others, set up the banner of reform, as Luther did, but went down to the grave, and the wave of triumphant Catholicism swept over them; and if Luther had not succeeded, you would never have heard of them. Reform movements may fail, and be trodden ought of sight for a century. It may be so with this anti-slavery reform. It is by no means certain that this very effort will free the slaves. Money and interest, the love of the Yankee for the dollar, the hatred of the negro because he is black, the peculiar condition of the country, may smother out ideas that, like Cromwell, had triumphed for a time. A century of despotism may follow it; and then, some other Garrison will rise up, like a phœnix, from the ashes of the first, and perhaps God will bless him with the absolute redemption of the slave. That the time will come, I know it; but we cannot count too much upon the certainty of our success, because ideas will triumph. This government is against emancipation. Four thousand millions of dollars the slaves are worth to-day; and Henry A. Wise says "if Buchanan is elected, the price of slaves will be doubled, if not trebled." Do you suppose that such a power can be met and vanquished by the Republican party, who meet three times a year, pass resolutions, and then go home? No, indeed; it is to be met, if not at the point of the bayonet, then by measures of moral power equally decisive; by men who say, "No further! We know what you mean, and we know what we mean." I want one single earnest step from the North that shall convince the South that she loves the freedom of the slave more than she loves the Union; and the moment I get that, I am as certain of the liberty of the slave as if I saw it. But the South knows the North better than the *Daily Advertiser*. She knows that the Abolitionists, the Republican party men, do not represent the whole of Massachusetts. Why, WALDO EMERSON made a speech the other evening at Concord. Mr. Garrison has been there, I have been there, Mr. Pillsbury, Mr. Foster, and Miss Holley, and many others have been there, and I look upon that speech as the "bright consummate flower" of the last thirty years; and the labour of those thirty years has not been thrown away, if it produced one such speech as that. The whole literature of the Sumner outrage has no parallel to it. Now, if we could have, not one Waldo Emerson—whom we used to look upon as a dreamer, as a man bid away in the woods—but twelve hundred thousand, in the State of Massachusetts, we should have four million freed slaves next Summer (cheers). I want a million of men in Massachusetts—a million of souls. We sometimes say there are a million of souls in Massachusetts. Bless me! that is giving a soul to everybody! (Laughter.) I want a million of souls in Massachusetts, penetrated with an idea; willing to die for it; willing, better than that, to *live* for it, and by it, and up to it.

But, my friends, I must not occupy your time longer. [Cries of "go on, go on."] No, my friends, I shall not go on. I have said all I have to say. I want to hear our friend Burleigh, and friend Remond, and others. And we have with us, too, a man who stood by us like a true Garrisonian, as he is (though he thinks he is a Republican), when we tried to get Judge Loring out of his office; and we should not have come within beat of drum so near to it as we did had we not had a noble Senator from Marlboro' inside the Senate Chamber to help us (cheers). But my point to-day, Mr. Chairman, is this: Garrisonians! go on! spend every other hour of your life in criticising your neighbour politician, and spend your other hour in doing your whole duty for the two hours. Mark you that! And if you do not do that, remember that you have no right to criticise the Republican party (loud applause).

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

From The (London) Anti-Slavery Advocate.

WE have now before us the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of June 2d, 1856, the sixth monthly number for the present year. At page 133 is a notice of a meeting of the members and friends of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held at the White Hart Tavern, Bishopgate street, on the 19th of May ultimo. "The attendance," we are informed, "was not very large, but it comprised the principal friends of the movement." Perhaps the most prominent member of this Society, the best known for active efforts in the cause of British West Indian emancipation in former years, and for his large donations to the funds of the Society ever since, is Mr. Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham. This gentleman was not present at the meeting at the White Hart Tavern, but the following letter from him, in explanation of his absence, was read by the Chairman:

"DEAR FRIEND: I much regret that I cannot be at the Anti-Slavery Meeting on the evening of the 19th, without absenting myself from a gathering of several thousand of the children belonging to the Band of Hope, who, in the present instance, have a prior claim to my being with them, and to whom we are going to present a medal in commemoration of peace. I hope the meeting will be satisfactory and encouraging. In the United States the cause of abolition is certainly advancing, though there is little opening for us to help it beyond the encouragement of free in preference to slave-grown produce, and acting fully up to our former strongly-expressed views as a Society, not in any way to countenance pro-slavery institutions in America, or their apologists. In connection with this subject, I cannot but hope that those of our friends who may have, without full consideration, subscribed to a Turkish Mission connected with a Society in the United States notoriously pro-slavery in its character, when they see the use that has been made of their names to the disadvantage of the anti-slavery cause, will support only those Missions in Turkey which are not thus connected.

"Very sincerely and faithfully, JOSEPH STURGE.

"Birmingham, May 16, 1856.

"To L. A. Chamerovzow."

We now beg our readers to read in the present number of the *Anti-Slavery Advocate* an article entitled "Signs of Progress," taken from the number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* now under consideration. A long extract is there given from the *Charleston Mercury*, in proof of the the triumphant results which have followed the unceasing efforts of the Abolitionists. The *Charleston Mercury* admits and deplores their success; and the *Reporter* quotes this evidence of a most unwilling witness to the triumphant results of the anti-slavery agitation, not in the British dominions only, but in the United States and throughout the world.

Now, what is the use in a British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society at all, if it be not to assist in efforts for the abolition of slavery—especially in those countries where it is most prevalent, where the people are most accessible to the influence of our remonstrances, and where the labourers in the field most require and appreciate our assistance? The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society consists chiefly of members of the Society of Friends scattered over England, who pay their subscriptions and entrust the management of the cause implicity to a committee of the members resident in and near London. This committee, again, have an office at 27 New Broad street, London, where their paid Secretary and other paid officers, subject to their control, transact the business of the Society, and publish the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. The publication of this paper, which, like the *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, appears monthly, is, as far as we know, the only apparent sign of the existence of the Society, which rarely holds any public meeting even in London, issues no tracts, or resorts to any other measures to promote the cause it professes to have at heart. This is a poor result of an association which professes to represent and to turn into active channels the anti-slavery zeal of a nation. But that it *does* little or nothing—that it lulls into sleep where it should arouse into action—would be comparatively small cause of objection if it were not that, ever since the great Anti-Slavery Convention held in London in 1840, the position of the Society has been one of antagonism to those very people in the United States who have done the most to bring round that state of things which the *Charleston Mercury* so feelingly deplores, whilst the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* adduces it as a proof of the triumph of the efforts and principles of the Abolitionists. It is little to say that no men and women have ever done so much for the anti-slavery cause as those members of the American Anti-Slavery Society who are denounced and ignored, and have so often been secretly calumniated and openly obstructed by the most prominent members of the British and Foreign Anti

'best friends and kindred dwell"—but her weakness or unwillingness to expel gross sinners from her communion compels us to secede from her fellowship, and extorts from our hearts the prayer, "O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto *their* assembly mine honour be not thou united."

JOEL WAKEMAN,
NATHANIEL HAMMOND.

Almond, Alleghany County, N. Y., June 10, 1856.

—*Independent.*

WE HAVE HAD ENOUGH OF COMPROMISES.

[In the Senate, July 2d, Douglas's new Kansas bill being under consideration, Hon WILLIAM H. SEWARD made a very able speech, of which we present the exordium and the peroration, wherein, as will be perceived, he proclaims that henceforth he will consent to no compromise of the principles of freedom.]

THE honourable and distinguished Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Crittenden) has appealed eloquently and earnestly to my love of peace, and to my devotion to the Union. Certainly every consideration weighs upon me as strongly as upon any other American Senator or citizen to make me desire that peace and harmony may prevail throughout this broad land; that my own country, worthier of my love than any other country under the sun, may be united now, henceforth, and forever; and that it may, by means of such harmony and union, continually rise in prosperity, greatness and glory.

The honourable Senator has based on that appeal a remonstrance against my remark, that "the time for compromises has passed." The honourable Senator from Georgia (Mr. Toombs), to whom this bill owes its principal features, has disclaimed for it not only the form, but also the character of a compromise. Assuming, however, with the Senator from Kentucky, that this is its true character, I must say, nevertheless, that he misunderstands me, when he supposes that I am opposed to all compromises of all questions, on all occasions. My position concerning legislative compromises is this, namely: personal, partisan, temporary and subordinate questions may lawfully be compromised; but *principles* can never be justly or wisely made the subjects of compromise. By *principles* I mean the elements in public questions of moral right, political justice, and high national expediency. Does any honourable Senator assert a different maxim on the subject of legislative compromises?

Unlike, perhaps, that honourable Senator, I regard slavery as morally unjust, politically unwise, and socially pernicious, in some degree, in every community where it exists. Slavery once, and not long ago, was practically universal. It may be doubted whether, among all the distinguished men whose co-labourer I am in this august assembly, there is one who more than myself, if he could trace his lineage upward through a period of five hundred or six hundred years, would not reach the *bar sinister*. I owe it to wise, virtuous and bold legislators, who have gone before me, that I am not myself a slave, and that within the State where I live slavery has forever ceased to exist. I owe it to mankind and to posterity that, being a legislator now myself, slavery shall by no act of mine be established or extended; and by act of mine, God giving me grace, no human being shall ever hereafter be made or held a slave. This is a principle; and, being a principle, I cannot compromise it. Nevertheless, I am not, for that reason, to be supposed willing to be either turbulent or factious in resisting the majority of my countrymen, when, overruling me, they compromise principles even so sacred as this. I abide that reconsideration which I always hopefully believe near, and am sure is ultimately certain.

It was my fortune to have just come into Congress when California, a free State, applied for admission into the Union. I insisted on her admission, without condition, qualification, or compromise. Others here, on the contrary, demanded a compromise, which should settle, as they said, all actual and all possible questions arising out of the subject of slavery in the United States, then, thenceforth and forever. I showed that such a compromise was impracticable. I maintained that questions arising out of slavery, from time to time, under different circumstances, and in different parts of the Republic, could only be justly and wisely settled, and indeed could only be settled at all, severally and distinctly, on the occasions on which they occurred. I was overruled; I was censured, how widely, how severely, all the world knows, for my refusal to join in a measure of peace and harmony, as it was called, which, as I thought, at the cost and sacrifice of freedom and justice, was expected to terminate the discussion of slavery in Congress, and to restore harmony and concord throughout the country, and perpetuate them forever.

That compromise was made here about this time, in a midsummer night, like this, at the close of a long and stormy debate. Loud-mouthed artillery, from the terrace of the Capitol, announced to the people of the United States that the Wilmot Proviso was buried under the floor of the Senate Chamber, and that the agitation of slavery was buried with it. Wherever I went, here or abroad, I was pointed out as a chief mourner—the last to leave that solemn ceremonial. Only four years had elapsed when those who had effected that compromise found it necessary to open to civilization the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, and they introduced into the Senate a bill for that purpose. Then all at once the Wilmot Proviso burst the cerements of its grave and stalked through the Senate Chamber, clad in the same frearful horrors that it had worn before its interment.

The slavery question thus reöpened, certainly by no act of mine, or of those who act with me, the Compromise Act of 1850 was reviewed. Those who favoured the extension of slavery in the Territories maintained that that Compromise drew after it, as a consequence, an abrogation of the prohibition of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska, contained in the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820. Those who opposed the extension of slavery denied that consequence. I was among that number, and was again overruled. The majority here then hit upon a new expedient to bind down and confine the Wilmot Proviso in its tomb, and prevent its possible resurrection forever. That expedient was that Congress should renounce, in favour of the inhabitants of the new Territories, all jurisdiction on the subject of slavery therein. Having no faith in the justice or the wisdom of that expedient, I calmly warned the Senate that they were only sending this perplexing question of slavery down to the Territories, to involve their inhabitants in factious and fruitless contests; and that it would come back again to the Senate, red with the heat of those strifes, to be settled here at last. I insisted then that Congress ought to discharge its proper responsibility, and decide whether Kansas and Nebraska should be slave Territories or free Territories. The Compromise ordnance, from the terrace of the Capitol, announced to the people a new triumph, and I was again pronounced, throughout the length and breadth of the land, a disappointed and overthrown agitator. Two years have elapsed. What is the result of this, the second Compromise made within six years—a Compromise consisting in the abnegation of Federal power over the subject of slavery in the Territories of the United States? The result, in its nature, is just what I predicted; while, in its aggravations, it surpasses all that my fanatical imagination had conceived.

Sir, I say again, and with emphasis, we have had enough of compromises on the subject of slavery. The day for them has passed. Do you ask what I would do on these disturbing questions? I answer, that I would do on these what I would do on all other questions. I hold this to be a Government of majorities, modified indeed by complex constitutional limitations, but nevertheless a Government of majorities.

It is the business of Congress to adjust and determine all questions which legitimately come before it, and not to compromise them, or to devolve their decision upon others. True, I know very well that I might be overruled, and that slavery might be established in a Territory by Congress, where I should vote to establish freedom. In that case, slavery must remain there until, in a constitutional way, it shall be removed. So, on the other hand, if freedom shall be established in the Territories, where others vote to establish slavery, they too must submit, and abide the change they desire. True, I know that there might be a difference of opinion between the House of Representatives and the Senate in such a case. In such an event, we must wait until the two Houses can agree—to-morrow, the next month or the next year. The people will ultimately take care to constitute the two Houses so that they shall agree. So much, sir, for my position upon the subject of compromises concerning the subject of slavery.

* * * * * * * *

The honourable Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Crittenden) asks me whether I will do nothing—whether nothing shall be done to compose this fatal strife in Kansas, which, he says, no one has depicted in deeper colours than myself. I answer, Yes. I will vote for the admission of Kansas into the Union, under the Topeka Constitution. That measure, and that measure only, will restore peace and harmony, while it will rescue freedom from peril. Take that measure. If such a thing is possible as turning a free State into a slave State, you will yet have the opportunity to do so, if the welfare of Kansas and of our common country should seem to you to require it. If you will not adopt that measure, it will then remain for you to propose another remedy; but it must be more just and more tolerant of freedom than either of those which you have already submitted to the Senate, and it must surrender all the vantage ground in the Territory which slavery has acquired by fraud or force. If this bill, now before the Senate, is your ultimatum, then the people of Kansas must trust to that change of public sentiment and of public opinion now going on throughout the United States, which, although it yet has to acquire the strength of habit and the power of complete organization, nevertheless, I think, is sure enough to break all the fetters which have been already fastened upon them, and all that remain within the forge of Executive despotism. To the people of Kansas, and to every advocate of their cause, in this the crowning trial of their fidelity, I say, in the language of the rule I have adopted for the government of my own conduct,

"Let thy scope
Be one fix'd mind for all; thy rights approve
To thy own conscience gradually renewed;
Learn to make Time the father of wise Hope;
Then trust thy cause to the arm of Fortitude,
The light of Knowledge, and the warmth of Love."

THE BAYONET.

ONE of the most extraordinary scenes ever enacted in this country occurred in Kansas on the 5th of July. A portion of the people of that Territory had assembled at Topeka, for the purpose of organising a State Legislature for their government in case of its admission as a State into the Union. That they had a perfect right thus to assemble, no man can doubt. The right of all the people of the United States "peaceably to assemble and petition the government for a redress of grievances" is solemnly guaranteed to them by the Constitution. They have just as good a right, when thus assembled, to style themselves a Legislature as a Convention or a Mass Meeting. So long as they do no unlawful act, they are entitled to the protection of the laws.

But in this instance, while these men were thus assembled, engaged in peaceable discussion, committing no wrong, doing nothing that could possibly be regarded as an act of violence or a disturbance of the peace, a Colonel in the Army of the United States, at the head of a troop of Federal Soldiers with muskets and bayonets, marched into their midst and thus addressed them:

"I am called upon," he said, "to perform the most disagreeable duty of my life, under the authority of the President's proclamation. *I am here to disperse this Legislature, and therefore inform you that you cannot meet.* I therefore, *in accordance with my orders*, command you to disperse. God knows that I have no party feeling in this matter, and will have none so long as I hold my present position in Kansas. I have just returned from the borders, where I have been sending home companies of Missourians, and now *I am ordered here to disperse you. Such are my orders, that you must disperse.* I now command you to disperse."

The President of the United States, as the Commander-in-Chief of its Armies, thus ordered a subordinate to march into the midst of this peaceable assembly and command them to disperse; and the Colonel added, "*I will use the whole force under my command to enforce this order.*" The fact stated by him, that he had been sending home companies of Missourians, was worth nothing as a reason for dispersing this Legislature unless the circumstances were analogous. But in the one case these Missourians were invaders—entering Kansas in armed bands for purposes of unlawful violence. In the other the gathering was composed of citizens of Kansas—and their proceedings and purposes were perfectly legal and pacific.

Cromwell's entry into the British House of Commons at the head of a company of soldiers, and his order for them to *disperse*, has hitherto stood as the boldest example of open, undisguised tyranny upon record. But he was professedly a military usurper and had openly thrown off all restraints and limitations of law. *Our* military dictation, on the other hand, is perpetrated in a Republic, under forms of law and a written Constitution.

The President's order to *disperse*, and the Douglas threat to *subdue*, all in Kansas who are in favour of making that a free State afford an admirable comment upon the "true intent and meaning" of the Nebraska bill.—*N. Y. Times.*

THE MISSOURI RIVER PIRATES.

From The Worcester (Mass.) Spy.

THE subjoined letter, giving an account of the outrages to which the first party of Kansas emigrants was exposed by the Border Ruffians of the West is from the pen of Mrs. Dr. Cutter, of Warren, who was of the party. Read it:

A TRIP TO LEAVENWORTH CITY, K. T.

I will now tell an unvarnished tale of what I have seen the last two weeks. I left my New England home June 17 to accompany my husband to Kansas, with the expectation that the rich, rolling prairies of that section of the country would be my future home. In accordance with a common feeling of greater security, we joined a company emigrating to that Territory. The party consisted of forty men and two women. The company were from several of the New England States, and consequently strangers to one another. There was no organization of the party until we arrived at Deposit, on the New York and Erie Railroad. My husband was then unanimously selected as the general travelling conductor of the party: another was selected to take charge of the baggage, and the third to provide the needful to sustain the wants of the stomach. There was no military organization—no drill or use of military weapons—but agricultural and mechanical implements, and also guns and pistols belonging to the party for use and defence. We arrived at Chicago June 20, and, by advice of gentlemen of that city, we proceeded to St. Louis instead of Iowa City. We left the busy, bustling levee of St. Louis in the steamer Sultan, June 24.

No paragraph of incidents or accidents occured to relieve the monotony of mud-banks, and the same unvarying view of cotton-wood, except here and there a bluff towered upward to furnish a retreat for the turkey-buzzard.

On the evening of June 25 we arrived at Boonville, Mo. One of the passengers, a Mr. Whittaker, of Saline Co., Mo., stepped ashore, and busied himself reporting us; there was some excitement on the bank, accompanied with threats. Here a vague rumour reached us that the company from Chicago that had preceded us up the river had been disarmed, and they would not be permitted to leave the boat. On the afternoon of the 26th we met the steamer Star of the West, with the disarmed Chicago company. They advised our return. Facts being stated, arrangements were made with the captain of the Star of the West for us to return to St. Louis.

Two of our company entered the boat, others were prevented by the passage-way being filled with Missourians, who were guarding the Chicago men down the river; they presented pistols and threatened the life of the captain and others, if more from the Sultan came aboard. The noble steamer turned rapidly, and glided down, while we ploughed up the turbid waters of the Missouri. It was then decided that we return on the Sultan, occupying the same rooms that we then had. The rifles were then delivered to the clerk of the boat, and consigned to a commission-house in St. Louis; a receipt was written, but not signed, when the boat reached Waverly. The shore here was lined with armed men—our steamer was boarded—the rifles forcibly taken away. These robbers stated that three pieces of cannon and fifteen hundred men were planted on shore. There were also cannons at Lexington to "adjust matters" if there were resistance. It was dark, and I did not see the "peace-makers." We then cherished the hope that we should proceed unmolested, as we had made arrangements not to land at Leavenworth, and, besides, the dreaded, as well as eagerly sought-for, Sharp's rifles were stolen. At Richland the same public military demonstration awaited us, although the rain was pouring in torrents.

We arrived at dawn on Sunday morning at Liberty; here were arranged a military company of 150 men, armed with *United States muskets*, also cannon to command the river. Threats were here made, and a portion of the military remained on the boat; on leaving the shore, the guns were discharged in the air, and directions given to the cannonier "not to fire too high, as people were on the opposite bank." At Independence we had similar ruffian treatment, also an accession to our bandit company. (May I never see Liberty or Independence again, if these places are representatives of those words so endeared to every true American.) Before we arrived at Kansas City, my husband, guided by the advice of Free State men not of our party, arranged with Capt. James Shaw and Capt. H. Bledsoe, of Independence, that the pistols should be deposited with the clerk of the Sultan, with the positive assurance that each man should receive his pistol on the return of the boat to Kansas City. We were now near the shore, and, looking from my state-room, 200 of Col. Buford's gang met my eye. The excitement was more intense than at the preceding places. At Parkville the same demonstrations awaited us as at the former landings. My pen is inadequate to describe the motley crowd that we saw on two terraces as we approached Delaware City, K. T. I hope Pluto may never receive into his dark domain a viler looking crew. In their hands were muskets, rifles, pistols, knives, &c. These were the "law and order" militia of the Territory. I was told they were chiefly from South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, ordered by Gov. Shannon to preserve the Territory.

In passing from Delaware to Leavenworth City, our masters gave another turn to the slavedriver's screw. The state-rooms must be examined. In searching the gentlemen's cabin, three rifles were found, gifts to different persons of our party. The "Regulating Committee" assured the owners, on the honour of gentlemen, that they should be returned. But, alas! in this instance, the old maxim was not verified—"there is honour among thieves." Behind the warehouse at Leavenworth City there is a deposit of United States muskets for the use of the "law and order men." Does this look like disarming the Pro-Slavery men? At this landing insult was heaped upon insult. My pen forbids to tell the tale. Over this city waved the red flag with the letters S. R. (Southern Rights). I now took my berth, as my physical energies were prostrated. We passed Fort Leavenworth; here on a parapet waved the so-called Flag of Freedom, whose folds are to afford protection to every American citizen. But no protection, no security did it give to Free State men and women. Its flag-staff is nailed by the fiat of the slaveholder, and now I felt the force of Douglas's words, "we will subdue you."

On arriving at Weston, Mo., the door that opens upon the guards of the steamer was thrown open, and I saw that I was a prisoner. About six feet from me stood two *gallant* gentlemen, from the sunny South, guarding a sick woman, who required a constant attendant. Here these chivalric men remained, with huge pistols fully displayed on the left side, and large hilted bowie-knives on the right. Occasionally, Capt. H. B. Chapman, of South Carolina, crossed over the stern of the boat and probably sympathized with them in their arduous labours. It is but justice for me to say that Capt. John Gillspicer, of Mississippi, from his better culture, did not stare at me as rudely as Capt. Eli Moore, of Virginia.

Monday morning, June 30.—The bow of our steamer was turned, and we were floating down the Missouri, under the surveillance of men, armed with rifles, revolvers, &c. All was quiet until we reached Parkville. A change was now manifest in our captor guards. They visited the bar more frequently—they increased the number of deadly weapons—profanity and threats of murder were rife. They made every effort to get up a wordy quarrel, as a pretext to murder unarmed, unresisting men. They did not succeed—hence murder is not added to their list of atrocities. The Regulating Committee refused, at Kansas City, to return the pistols and side-arms, as previously arranged. In addition, Captains Shaw and Bledsoe took a bale of goods. We received no further annoyance after leaving Independence, though a "corporal's guard" attended us below Lexington.

I will close this brief and painful recital of facts by a few remarks:

First: It may be asked, Who are the men that commit these outrages? I will answer, all classes in Western Missouri, and the South lend their aid. At Weston, Gen. Stringfellow, Sheriff Spratt of Platt County, and other men of wealth, smiled approbation. At Kansas City, Mr. Russell, of great wealth, and others of less note, aided by Southern chivalry, operate with the most degraded ruffians of Missouri.

Second: What in respect to the officers of the boats? The mob *rule* all the boats above Lexington. Persons or property cannot be protected.

Third: Will the Missourians permit Free State men to enter Kansas? I answer, No! They stop large companies prepared to protect themselves. They *pretend* that small unarmed companies can be admitted, but the self-styled "law and order men" do annoy, if not rob them.

Fourth: What is the true condition of the North? I answer, *subjugated, subdued*, unless a pathway is opened so that Kansas can be freely entered by all citizens of the United States. MRS. E. P. CUTTER.

T. W. HIGGINSON, in letters to the *Spy* and the *Tribune*, adds the following:

I waited at St. Louis a day and a half for Dr. Cutter and his company, who *returned in safety* on the third of July. We immediately chartered a steamboat to take them up the Missouri River to Davenport, Iowa, starting that same afternoon. Thence they were to go by railroad to Iowa City, where Dr. Cutter and Perry Thayer would join them. Dr. Cutter came along with me that same night as far as Alton; so I can state confidently that he was out of the hands of the Border Ruffians. Indeed, neither he nor any of the others were ever imprisoned in any way or taken off the boat.

I had time enough, however, to carefully question the members of the party, with the officers and passengers of the boat. All their accounts agree; and they prove clearly the outrageous conduct of the Missourians and the admirable conduct of our men. All along the road the latter have obtained respect. The captain of the steamboat pronounced them the best company of emigrants he ever carried. The passengers praised them likewise. And every person, without exception, was enthusiastic in his praise of Dr. Cutter, not merely in regard to his energy and courage (which nobody ever doubted), but as to his caution, prudence, coolness and discretion (about which some of us had a good deal of doubt). Said a Wisconsin passenger to me: "Not a man in ten thousand could have saved the lives of that company. There were men on board the boat, for days together, who had sworn not to let him go on shore alive; they were constantly trying to pick a quarrel with him, after his men were disarmed; a single blow struck would have been the death-warrant of the whole party; and it required rare coolness and judgment to prevent it."

All the steamboat captains agree that there were on that river, as they went up, *from three to five thousand men*, distributed at different points, several hundred of each. At Waverly, Lexington, Delaware, Liberty, Independence, Plattville, Leavenworth and Weston, there were these bands—commonly with cannon. Of course forty-five men could not fight their way through these, in a steamboat so fragile that one cannon shot might sink her. Of course he had to surrender, or sacrifice the lives of all his men. He chose the former.

The real trouble was this: they were taken by *surprise*. The Chicago men warned them that there would be an attack at Lexington. Instead of that, the mob had come further down and awaited at Waverly. It was evening, and they could only *see* some three or four hundred men with arms and cannon. They were *told* that there were fifteen hundred, which, from other accounts, is by no means impossible.

Of course there are always persons who believe no plan a good one that does not succeed. I am writing for no such person. I know that Cutter *deserved* success. And I maintain also that he obtained a *comparative* success. Look at it, for days together he was in an enemy's country, his little band under guard, and the banks of the river lined with men. Again and again the boat was searched by those thieves. He has brought back all his men safe, all his provisions, all his ammunition, some side arms, *and more good rifles than the Missourians have got from him.* Most of those they obtained were got by an act of treachery at the last moment. He has brought back twenty; they have got only fifteen, *in good condition.* The remainder were sunk in the river, or dismantled before they were surrendered. No wonder at the remark of a Missouri passenger, who saw these unloading after their return to St. Louis, "By ——, the Yankees have outwitted us, and are as well armed as when they started."

No thanks to the Missourians, however. When the guard left the steamboat again, disembarking at Independence, on the down trip, they carried the side-arms which their captain (Shaw) had pledged his honour to return, beside stealing all the tents, and making a final search for rifles.

At this time they had evidently laid a deliberate plan to carry off Dr. Cutter. I enjoyed the looks of the young men who told me that part of the story. "We were collected in the cabin, on the watch," said they, "and, unarmed as we were, they would have had to walk over all our bodies before capturing *him.*"

Indeed, I was delighted with the whole appearance of the company. They seemed to be twice the men that they were when they left Worcester. A few left, between here and St. Louis, and two in Missouri. But not one of those remaining but seemed more resolute than ever to force his way through into Kansas *somehow.* They were brave, patient, uncomplaining and perfectly united. I believe, from all I could hear of them, that, if Cutter had given the word, they would have fought to the last.

Let me explain one thing further. Other Free State men, *unarmed*, were sent back by the same boat, equally unable to enter the Territory. On the other hand, the day I reached St. Louis a boat-load of recruits went up unmolested. Thus the South acts while we are talking. Three weeks ago, $10,000, in the hands of the Chicago Committee, would have opened the Iowa route to Kansas. Five times that sum was, even then, subscribed in New England; but it was not *used* then—it is not used now. What is the consequence? The South sent hundreds, perhaps thousands, of fresh men into Kansas between the sacking of Lawrence and the eventful 4th of July. The North, so far as I can learn, *did not send a single party.* I have said enough.

It is a mistake to supose that Eastern Missouri sympathizes to any extent with the rufflanism of the Missouri River. On the contrary, St. Louis is fully aware both of the shame they entail upon the whole State and the pecuniary loss involved. At hotel tables and in merchants' counting-rooms I heard this deeply lamented. Most of the commercial community in St. Louis is Eastern; there are not many slaves there; and though the merchants may sometimes sacrifice conscience to slavery, they cannot yield conscience and interest too. "Our large dealers in clothing, groceries, hardware, tools, machinery," &c., they say, "were last year opening large accounts with the young settlements of Kansas. Now the trade is all paralyzed, and even the accounts of last year are unsettled. Last year the steamboats ran full. From Alton to St. Louis there were three boats daily last Autumn; now there is but one. Instead of a prosperous emigration up the Missouri River, the boats do not pay their way, and are being laid up until peace returns." (Indeed, when I left St. Louis, there was talk of a convention of owners of steamboats to consider their deplorable condition.) "And all this," they add, "to please one miserable little town." "If you Abolitionists would take a few hundred men and a steamer or two, and go up the river and *wipe Lexington out of existence*, there would be no tears shed in St. Louis." So said a merchant to me.

But it is just as great a mistake to suppose that the outrages in Western Missouri are the work of a mere rabble. On the contrary, the leaders are what we in Massachusetts call "gentlemen of property and standing." As I wrote to you before, Mr. McGrew, of Lexington, in whose hands the arms of the Chicago company still remain, was himself one of the mob who took them, though the principal merchant of the place. So the Worcester company were plundered by the head of the firm of Majors, Russell & Co.; men whose business is worth hundreds of thousands of dollars annually, and are said to employ two thousand men in it, doing the Government business, and having stores at Independence, Plattville, Leavenworth, Westport, &c. Another is W. H. Spratt, the Sheriff of Plattsville. When these men do not take a personal part, they are ready to give credit to any extent to Atchison and Stringfellow for provisions for their men. It is thus that, as we see, the operations of the "ruffians" are conducted with an energy and skill of which the rank and file are perfectly incapable.

Finally, it is necessary to accumulate refutations of the supposition, still held by many, that it is only *armed* Free State men who are forcibly turned back. On the contrary, little discrimination is made. I conversed with two passengers who went up in the same boat with the Massachusetts party, but had no connection with them and were entirely unarmed—Messrs. Alexander Voorhis, of Horicon, Wisconsin, and —— Seaton, of New Hampshire. They were compelled to return, and so were others whom I did not see. Messrs. Macartney and Shiver, of Ohio, also unarmed, were put ashore in Weston, Missouri, with their families and property (including a saw-mill), and left to find their way into the Territory as they could, subject to plunder and outrage from the first armed band that might cross their path. And yet Gov. Shannon coolly writes, in *The Lexington Weekly Express* of June 10, "You can have no difficulty in coming into the Territory with *actual settlers.*" But every man of the Massachusetts company was an actual settler, and only carried arms, as all pioneers should, in self-defence. Moreover, it was repeatedly offered to Dr. Cutter that, *on taking a pledge to obey the Territorial laws, they should be promptly admitted to Kansas.*

On the other hand, the day I reached St. Louis a company of Southerners went up in a steamer, chartered by themselves, for Kansas. Nobody asked whether they were actual settlers, or whether armed or unarmed. Thus it is—the South acts, while we talk. I am not willing to write or print the sad thoughts which fill my mind. How long must Kansas continue to reproach us with broken promises and help delayed?

COLOURPHOBIA ABATING.—*The Calendar*, the organ of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut, in giving an account of the late Diocesan Convention of that State, says:

"St. Luke's Church, New Haven, a parish composed entirely of coloured people, was admitted into union with the Convention several years since, and has been entitled to the same representation in the Annual Convention which pertains to the other parishes. The clergyman of the parish has generally been a white man, but the present one is, we presume, of pure African blood, and it gave us much pleasure to meet him and the delegates from his parish on the floor of the Convention, and to see him at the altar, not after all others had departed, but in the midst of many brethren. It reminded us of the early days of the Church, when a Cyprian and an Augustine stood at the head of the Church's Doctors in various parts of Africa. A contrary practice, which has prevailed in other dioceses, has often been productive of unpleasant feelings at home, and more unpleasant comments abroad. In this respect, we think some of the Church institutions have made a mistake, when they declined receiving the coloured candidate and brother to the College, Seminary, or Convention. Whatever may be our opinion of the relationship existing between the races in a civil point of view, there should be no difference in the Church. There, brethren meet on an equality, as truly as they will do in the mansions of rest in the kingdom of our Father."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1856.

Anniversary of West India Emancipation.

THE Anniversary of BRITISH WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION will be suitably commemorated (under the direction of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society) by a general meeting of the friends of Universal Freedom, in the beautiful Grove at ABINGTON, on FRIDAY, August 1st. It is highly important to the success of the Anti-Slavery movement in our own land that every such occasion should be improved in the most effectual manner; and it is earnestly hoped, especially in view of the cheap Railroad facilities which are offered, that a very large concourse will assemble at Abington, on this occasion, from Plymouth, Bristol, Suffolk, Essex, Middlesex and other Counties in the Commonwealth. Let every one make seasonable arrangements to be there, if possible.

A SPECIAL TRAIN of cars will leave the *Old Colony Railroad Depot* in Boston, at 9 o'clock, a. m., for the Abington Grove, and return at 6 1-4 o'clock. FARE: To go and return, *Fifty Cents* for adults; *Twenty-five Cents* for children.

From PLYMOUTH to the Grove; leave Plymouth at 9.20 a. m.; and return at 6.10. FARE: *Sixty Cents* for adults, *Thirty Cents* for children.

☞ The above trains will stop at Way-Stations.

The Committee of Arrangements consists of FRANCIS JACKSON, W. L. GARRISON, EDMUND JACKSON, and SAMUEL MAY, JR., of Boston; NATHANIEL B. SPOONER, of Plymouth; THOMAS J. HUNT, PHILANDER SHAW, MICAH H. POOL, ELDRIDGE SPRAGUE, LEWIS FORD, SAMUEL DYER, of Abington.

Among the speakers expected to be present are WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, PARKER PILLSBURY, EDMUND QUINCY, CHARLES L. REMOND, and others, to be more particularly named hereafter.

In case of unpleasant weather, the Town Hall (near to the Grove) will afford accommodation to the meeting.

☞ Refreshments will be for sale at the Grove, as usual.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION IN THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES OF NEW ENGLAND.

[No. I.]

To the stupid old question which is still occasionally asked, Why Abolitionists do not go to the South to preach their doctrines? they have always replied, first, that the vicious principles and false ideas which they oppose prevail as really at the North as at the South; next, that as tar and feathers, clubs, pistols and halters are not used in New England to suppress freedom of speech and of the press, the continuous action which so great an enterprise demands is possible *here;* and, lastly, that whatever progress in the diffusion of sound principles is actually made will be more fruitful and effective here. They have also for many years given a uniform testimony that the Churches, and preëminently their leaders, the clergy, were the chief obstacle to a reception of anti-slavery truth by the people.

The American clergy, being dependent upon the favour of the people, defend or palliate popular sins, and bestow the full strength of their rebuke upon unpopular ones; hence, when, in the progress of reform, a large proportion of the people begin to turn from a popular sin towards its opposite virtue, the clergy find themselves in a peculiarly difficult position. Having publicly and systematically defended, *upon religious grounds*, the sin which the people committed for pleasure or profit, without caring whether it were right or not, the clergy of course are reluctant to eat their own words, directly reverse their position, confess themselves to have been in the wrong, and oppose, as religious teachers, that which they formerly excused as religious teachers. In such a case it will always be found that they seek to retard the movement in question, and, by skilfully proposing side issues instead of direct ones, try so to graduate the inevitable change as to attain the new position without that right-about-face movement which involves the admission of previous error.

Now, though the people of the North are very little changed in *principle*, though they are by no means *anti-slavery*, they have been very greatly changed in *feeling* by the recent outrages in Washington and Kansas. Caring still very little about the slaves, they are beginning to care a good deal about the atrocious assaults to which *their* delegates in Congress, and *their* brothers, friends and neighbours who have emigrated to Kansas, are subjected, and to see that those assaults come from the Slave Power; they are *beginning* to realize that *their* names may be found in the list of slaves which Mr. Toombs proposes to read at the foot of Bunker hill, and to inquire what may yet be done to avert that catastrophe.

Years ago, before the popular mind had received this stimulus, and while the mass of Northern men were entirely indifferent about slavery, Professor Stuart counselled his theological students not to pray against it publicly, and Dr. Gannett, the unworthy successor of Dr. Channing, said, The mission of Unitarianism to slavery is *silence.* But now, the times being changed, the ministers must change with them, and Dr. Gannett and Dr. Kirk preach and print sermons on the state of the country, counselling their hearers, in view of the late outrageous conduct of the Slave Power in Washington and Kansas, to *pray* and *wait.* The point of silence must be given up; but since they know by experience that it is possible to pray a long time without *doing* anything, their next move is to pray that God would, in some way and at some time, avert the evil results of that slavery which they have been all their lives supporting, while they piously keep their eyes open to see him do it.

We wish now to direct the attention of our readers to the manifestations of this feeling in the great ecclesiastical bodies of New England; to the fact that those men in the Congregational Associations who feel obliged to quit the old ground of silence, counsel praying and waiting *instead of working*, deprecate agitation scarcely less than slavery, and urge those who, against their advice, are bent upon *doing* something, to act against the (so-called) abuses of slavery rather than against slavery itself. Thus, we may mention in passing, the "Resolutions" passed, June 4th, by the Faculty and students of Andover Theological Seminary praise the "dignity and forbearance" rather than the boldness of Mr. Sumner, are grateful for his "vindication of liberty [of speech] and constitutional order" rather than for his denunciations of slavery, regard the assault upon him as "one of the many bitter fruits of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise," instead of referring it to a deeper, darker and truer parentage, and state that the admission of Kansas with its Free State Constitution "is now the only mode in which justice can be done to *all* portions of the Federal Union, *and the agitations of the country quieted*," instead of demanding freedom for Kentucky as well as for Kansas, enlarging the liberty of what are falsely called the "Free" States, so that a black man can live safely in Andover instead of fleeing on to Canada, and cherishing the present inadequate amount of agitation until it shall have grown to the accomplishment of liberty in *the whole land*, among *all* the inhabitants thereof.

The General Association (of orthodox Congregational ministers) of Massachusetts held their annual meeting in Salem, June 24th, 1856. The rules of the Association inform us that "Its object is to promote brotherly harmony and intercourse among the ministers of Christ; to obtain religious information relative to the state of their Churches, and of the Christian Church in this country, and throughout the world; and to cooperate with one another, and with other ecclesiastical bodies, in the most eligible measures for advancing the cause of truth and holiness." Its proceedings will show us what sort, and what amount, of action against slavery its members consider needful "for advancing the cause of truth and holiness."

The customary "Pastoral Letter to the Churches" dwelt mainly, this year, on the subject of slavery. It elicited an animated discussion and many objections, after which the Association decided, contrary to the usual custom, *not* to print it, the objection of the majority evidently being to so much of freedom, rather than to so much of compromise and timidity, as it contained.

A large proportion of the proceedings of the meeting consisted of reports from their own delegates, sent the previous year to the (pro-slavery) Presbyterian General Assemblies, speeches of the delegates from those bodies, and a discussion as to the propriety of continuing that fraternal relation with the open practisers and defenders of slavery. The Presbyterians claimed, in the most thorough and determined manner, their right, as Christians, to hold slaves, and their determination still to hold them. They complained of some of the speeches on the other side as uncourteous, and represented themselves and their slaveholding constituents as injured men, so far, but felt that they had the sympathy and respect of a *majority* of the members, and testified that in the *prayer-meetings* established by the meeting they found themselves perfectly at home, welcomed in the fullest manner as Christian brethren, and undisturbed by the slightest reference to their oppression of the poor and needy. This judgment was proved to be well founded by the decision of the meeting to postpone action upon a continuance of the correspondence to another year, and by the testimony even of the dissenters from this conclusion, that the slaveholding and slavery-defending brethren were holy men, whom they expected to meet in heaven.

Dr. Worcester, of Salem, from the Committee of correspondence with Publishing Societies on the subject of slavery (a position which he owes, no doubt, to his prominence as a member of the "Circumlocution Society," and his practised ability in showing, as Mr. Dickens says, "how *not* to do it"), made an extended report, proposing the following Resolutions, which were adopted, with but two dissenting votes:

Resolved, That while we do not desire the Tract Society to publish at all on the political aspects of slavery, nor upon slavery in its moral aspects, except in the spirit of love, and with the utmost Christian candour and impartiality, it is our deliberate conviction that silence in respect to the enormous and admitted evils of slavery on the part of a great Publishing Society devoted to the cause of good morals and religion is not wise as a matter of policy, nor consistent with Christian faithfulness—that the time will come, if it has not already, when not to be openly against a system so fraught with evil and danger is to be for it—therefore, that this Society should be ready to take the position to which the providence of God and the demands of the age summon it, and exert its powerful influence against the sins of slavery as against other sins.

Resolved, That in the present condition of the affairs of the American Tract Society, its officers and agents, with all its friends and patrons, have urgent occasion to supplicate the Throne of Grace, that the Spirit of the Lord may rest upon them, "the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and might, the Spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord."

Resolved, That it is not expedient for this Association to take any further action in respect to the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, the Congregational Board of Publication, or the American Sunday School Union.

Resolved, That this Association is gratified with the action of the American Tract Society at its recent meeting in New York; that we regard the appointment of a Committee of Investigation as a wise and timely measure, evincing as it does a willingness on the part of the Society to reconsider its duty on the subject of slavery; that we are particularly pleased with the statement of the Executive Committee respecting the omission of words and phrases, having reference to slavery, in the publications of the Society, and also with their admission that there are "aspects of the subject, and of duties and evils connected with it, in which it might be hoped that Evangelical Christians, North and South, would agree," and in respect to which, therefore, they see not why tracts "breathing the love of Christ, and promising usefulness," may not "be approved and published."

It will be remembered that in the ministers' meeting held a month previous to this in Boston, respecting Kansas, Dr. Worcester was ready promptly and energetically to rebuke so grave an offence as applause, bestowed by the consecrated hands of ministers, upon sentiments favourable to freedom; but where a rebuke to the systematic toleration of slavery on religious grounds is in question, promptitude and energy would be quite out of place; the point for consideration is "how *not* to do it"; and *festina lente*, hasten slowly, is the motto. Accordingly, Dr. Worcester suggests that his Association *be ready to take a position*, instead of actually taking one—that the Tract Society *supplicate the Throne of Grace*, instead of abandoning their obvious sins—that their recent postponement of action for another year is *a wise and* TIMELY *measure*—that certain *aspects* of slavery, and *evils connected with it*, rather than the hideous monster itself, are the things to be opposed when the time of opposition shall come—and, finally, that peace should take precedence of purity as the object of their efforts.

Finally, the Committee on the state of the country made a report, which was accepted and adopted, as follows:

Whereas, in view of the late occurrences in Congress and in one of the Territories, growing out of the encroachments of slavery, we are constrained to regard the condition of our country as solemn and critical beyond any through which we have ever passed; therefore,

Resolved, That the crisis calls us to special prayer for the nation, and to redoubled efforts to deepen and diffuse the spirit of the Gospel as the only remedy for existing evils, and the only foundation of hope for the perpetuity of American institutions.

Resolved, That passing events call upon us, as Christian patriots, to stand firm in our defence of the interests of freedom and of the Union, and to seek to promote them in all lawful, wise and Christian methods.

Here, again, the evil to be opposed is represented to be only the *encroachments*, not the *existence*, of slavery; the course of action to be pursued, *prayer*, not *reformation

elements of the most audacious crime, and of a spirit equal to deeds that I will not name."

The correspondent of *The Tribune* gives us the sequel to Mr. Woodruff's speech:

"When Mr. Woodruff concluded, Mr. Brooks, who sat in the next seat facing him, looked sternly at Mr. Woodruff and, bowing his head with great indignation, uttered a sentence which Mr. Woodruff did not hear. About ten minutes afterward, Col. Savage, of Tennessee, waited upon Mr. Woodruff and informed him that he accosted him as the 'friend' of Col. Brooks, and desired to know if he (Woodruff) recognised the 'code of honour.' Mr. Woodruff replied, 'I recognise no code opposed to the laws of my country.'"

The resolution to censure Mr. Keitt, the abettor of Brooks, was adopted on Tuesday, 106 to 96. Edmundson was let off, 136 to 60. Keitt addressed the House on Wednesday, and at the close of his speech resigned his seat.

From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. CXCII.

THE ARGUMENT.—The Correspondent on the Fourth of July—He questioneth of the patriotism of the Clerk of the Weather—He striveth for excuses—He telleth of the City Government's ideas of a good Fourth of July Orator—Of the Celebration at Framingham—Of who was President—He characterizeth the same—Of who was expected to be President. He censureth Mr. Garrison's speech—But comforteth the Editors—The Adjournment to the Grove—The Ducking—The Tabernacle—The Anti-Slavery Fireworks—Mr. Phillips's Speech—The Natural History of the Dog—He attacketh Mr. Winthrop—Whom the Correspondent defendeth—He is cautious of his criticism—He telleth of the other Speakers and of the return home—He discourseth of Balloons and of Wisdom—He commendeth the City Government and why, &c., &c., &c.

BOSTON, July 14th, 1856.

IT is ten days since the great "rain-soaked, powder-smoked" Fourth of July came off; but I suppose you will expect me to tell you something about it all the same. Well, in the first place, the Clerk of the Weather behaved infamously by us in these parts. I have had several times occasion to doubt the Abolitionism of this functionary, but I do not remember ever before having to question his patriotism. He has molested our Anti-Slavery Meetings now and then, but I don't think that he ever broke the great National Holiday all to flinders in the way he did this year. There are but two excuses for him that I can think of. One, that the day came on a Friday this year, and all the world knows that is an unlucky day. We do all our hangings on it. The other, that our City Government had selected, out of all the inhabitants of Boston, the journeyman attorney of Seth J. Thomas in the job of getting Suttle's boy, Anthony Burns, back to him again. It was surely an odd qualification for a Fourth of July Orator. But it was the only possible one the man possessed; for nobody ever heard of him on any other occasion, and the object was either to whitewash him personally or to bolster up slave-catching, generally. There was an attempt made to have an opposition Oration by Wendell Phillips, and a Requisition, originating in the Republican Committee Room, was circulated and obtained a good many signatures; but I believe the preengagement of every suitable hall nipped the project in the bud so that it never flowered or fruited. If this were the cause of the cantankerousness of the Clerk of the Weather, one could pardon a good deal to the spirit of Liberty, even if it took this damp and uncomfortable direction.

Of course, these outrages of the weather militated seriously against the success of the Anti-Slavery Celebration at Framingham. Still, there was a remnant left which was not disheartened by clouds nor descending waters from proceeding to the appointed place. Not the appointed spot, however, for the open-air meeting was out of the question, and the company proceeded onward to the Town-Hall at the Centre, where the Meeting was organized by making Mr. Garrison Chairman. This is enough to stamp the character of the assembly. All who remember how this gentleman burned with fire, a year or two ago, the Constitution of the Glorious Union and the Compromises which have compaginated it together for us, like so many hoops to a barrel, without which it would have tumbled to pieces long ago, will comprehend easily enough the complexion he gave to it. I understood in advance that your former Corresponding Editor was to occupy that high position. Of what intrigues he was the victim, I am unable to say. It is enough to declare that his selection for that lofty and responsible post would have shown a spirit of moderation and conciliation on the part of the Meeting highly honourable to its good sense, self-respect and regard for public opinion. But it is vain to dwell on what might have been. Mr. Garrison's speech was of the description of the generality of his diatribes. He assaulted our Glorious Union, attacked our Blessed Constitution, advised a dissolution of the one and a compound fracture of the other, and was exceedingly abusive towards our Southern Brethren, by whose grace and favour it is that we all live and move and have our being. He concluded by the frightful position that "*The North must separate from the South*"! But I will not grieve you with any further reference to the wild and whirling words of this very ill-advised and unsound person—in whom, I can assure you, Our First Men here have no confidence whatever. He is of no weight at all on 'Change—so you need feel the less alarm at his extravagances.

A gleam of sunshine allured the company to the Grove in the afternoon; but it allured them only to a ducking, for the rain came down more vindictively than ever. They found what shelter they could under a tent, and proceeded with their orgies. I should judge that their fanaticism was not much tempered by the humidity of the atmosphere, judging from the explosive and fiery character of the other speeches. The fire-works of these good people are of such a consistency that the weather has no effect upon them at all, and they go off just as well by day as by night. I will make no strictures on the Speech of Mr. Wendell Phillips, as I suppose you will, as usual, give your readers an opportunity of judging of it for themselves. He accounted for the horror excited in Democratic breasts by Col. Fremont's having eaten dog's-flesh, while among the Rocky Mountains, by the just and natural repugnance felt by that breed of animals at seeing this disposition made of their fellows. In fact, it was creditable to their instinct and natural affection. He spoke in terms which I forbear to characterize as they deserve of my eminent fellow-citizen, Mr. Winthrop, merely because he did not go the Indignation Meeting at Faneuil Hall on the occasion of the Assault on Mr. Sumner. This was in the highest degree inconsiderate and unkind on the part of Mr. Phillips. Mr. Winthrop had excellent reasons for staying away. Two were assigned at the time, either of which should be sufficient to satisfy any candid mind. One was that he was on the eve of a journey and had to stay at home to pack his trunk. Would Mr. Phillips have had him depart with this receptacle of his wearing apparel one wild chaos of warring elements, where shirts and coats, pantaloons and boots, cravats and stockings,

"Should strive for mastery and to battle bring
Their embryon atoms?"

Only a mind with an inherent bent towards disorder and misrule would harbour such an idea for an instant. The other reason was still better, *viz.*: that Mr. Winthrop was proposing to himself a tour in Europe and could not spare the time requisite for the Meeting from the preparations in which he was engaged for that purpose. Now who, that considers the disrepute into which our beloved country has fallen in Europe, chiefly through the ignorance, snobbishness and ill-manners of our travelling public, could wish to rob one of our fellow-citizens even of an hour of study which might enable him to redeem in some measure our National character from the reproach under which it labours?

Mr. Phillips also criticised the position of the Republican party and pointed out its weak spots, while doing full justice to the Anti-Slavery feeling and spirit of many of its members. His whole speech was not without those qualities of conception and delivery which have made some people think no small beer of him as an orator. For my part, I reserve my opinion, as a Judge does when he has fully made up his mind on the subject matter. Besides Messrs. Garrison and Phillips, Mr. Swazey, of Newburyport, Mr. Pillsbury, who had a most warm and cordial welcome back to his country, Mr. Foss, Mr. Albee, Rev. Mr. Kimball, of Barre, Mr. Burleigh and perhaps others spoke. The company were safely reconveyed to this city by rail and arrived in time to see the ascension of the Balloon which had been advertised as part of the entertainments of the day. Perhaps Ballooning is not one of the wisest ways in which a man may risk his neck. You may remember that somebody once defined a Balloon as "a Silk Bag, with Gas in its belly and a Fool at its tail." I don't think Solomon would have increased his reputation for Wisdom by going up in one; but still, it is a mighty pretty sight in a fine clear sky, flecked with a few clouds, in which the golden apparition now loses itself and now floats free again. This was an extraordinary ascension, into the bargain, as the one on City account had been postponed. But as there were many persons from the country who could not come in again, to save their disappointment the Æronaut agreed to go up for the actual cost of the gas—which was raised on the spot by private contributions and the ascent made. So on the next Monday we had another ascension and took Sebastopol in fireworks in the evening without the loss of a single man.

As I have spoken above of our City Government not in terms of entire commendation, because of their most extraordinary choice of an Orator, it behooves me to do them justice in one particular where they deserve great credit. I have told you in former letters, with groanings that could not be uttered, of the insensate riot which has made the night before the Fourth hideous to all good citizens and fatal to those that happened to be sick. I need not enlarge to you on the subject, for I believe we did but follow in the wake of New York as humble rivals, though I should think we could not have lagged very far behind you in the glorious competition. Well, this year the doctors took the matter up and interposed in behalf of their patients, a hundred of them sending in a Memorial on the subject, which a large number of the citizens backed up with another on their own account. Thus encouraged, the Mayor went to work, and, with the help of the Chief of Police, kept the peace as perfectly as it was ever kept on any night throughout the year. Five hundred special constables were added to the usual force, a proclamation was issued expressing the intention of the City Government to maintain order that night, warning householders against allowing firearms or fireworks to be let off from their premises on their peril, and intimating that all parties arrested would be kept in *quod* until Saturday, inasmuch as our Know-Nothing Legislature had passed a law forbidding the National Sabbath to be violated by the holding of any Court of Law. These various precautions and considerations were perfectly and entirely effectual, and the peace of the City was kept without the simplest fracture—an example of what my be done by resolute action in checking a nuisance that promised to grow to an intolerable magnitude. To that extent, therefore, I bestow upon the Mayor and Aldermen the rich reward of my approbation. D. Y.

From our Dublin Correspondent.

DUBLIN, June 20, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS: Everybody here asks everybody else whether Summer will ever come to us. To be sure, the grass is green, the hawthorn is fading, the cuckoo is gone, the thrush, the blackbird and the linnet may be heard in the fields, and those who can buy them may have plenty of gooseberries and cream—which, with sugar, when well boiled, makes the delicious dish that my countryman compared himself to when, in his *Retaliation*, he said,

"Magnanimous Goldsmith 's a gooseberry fool."

But the weather is cold, the skies are gray, we have more of the North wind than the South wind, and apprehensive people begin to fear that the seasons are about to turn a somersault, that before long we shall have snow at midsummer and strawberries at Christmas. A friend of mine, who has lately returned from Australia, declares that we don't know what fine weather is in this "cold and cloudy clime," where the air is never warm, and where, whenever the skies are particularly clear, we may regard the phenomenon as a sure sign of a tremendous down-pour for several days after. Then rags are abundant in Ireland, poverty is no rarity, and about once every three or four months we hear of an agrarian murder in some part of the country, following a dispute about land. We don't find it easy to make money. If you get it, you must hold it fast; for if it slips from you, it is ten to one that you never get it back again. There you may travel off by sea and land thousands of miles, for months or years, with the comfortable assurance that you have only to fall to when you return, and make up for lost time. I have been over and over invited across the Herring Pond by my hospitable American friends—much as a neighbour might ask me to step in next door. They little knew how rich and independent a man must be here before he can go meandering in your free and easy style over the Universe.

Still, with all these disadvantages, I have made up my mind that, however much I would rejoice to drop in upon you some day, and read a STANDARD wet from the press, I had rather stay here for a permanence. I don't any longer envy the position of a free and independent American as such. The members of our House of Commons don't stab Irish waiters in the London hotels. If they did, they would surely be hanged or transported. Nor do they walk into the House of Lords and make "murderous, brutal, cowardly and treacherous" onslaughts on Lord Shaftesbury or Lord Brougham. The recent conduct of the Southern ruffians at Washington affords the most satisfactory vindication of all that the Abolitionists have been doing and saying ever since Mr. Garrison joined their ranks. To be sure, the predictions of the Abolitionists have had no better luck than most other prophecies. They have been rejected or despised until their fulfilment attested the truth of the wisdom or the inspiration that dictated them. Ever since the commencement of their enterprise they have been regarded as croakers and birds of ill omen. Swallowed up by selfish interests, and engaged in the blind pursuit of material wealth, the conduct of the great mass of the American people, with all their proud boasts of liberty and intelligence, resembles the cows in a fat pasture, who care for nothing that goes on around them, provided they are undisturbed in their feed. The Abolitionists have often been accused of exaggeration, both on your side of the water and ours, and their statements have been flatly denied or received with a kind of compassionate, scornful incredulity. Since the late events in Washington and Kansas this accusation can be no longer made, for the violence, lawlessness and cruelty of the slaveholders lies patent before the world, and they glory in their shame. Surely, what they have done in the sight of all they will not abstain from in the privacy of their plantations.

I had a letter lately from a friend of yours and mine—not one hundred miles from Philadelphia. He banters me about "steady, plodding, retrogressive Dublin," and tells me that we don't know what it is to *go ahead* or to live fast; that in order to have an idea of progress, I should come over to this side—that is, your side—and put myself into the whirl. He gives me this further comfortable assurance, in case I comply with his invitation: "It (the whirl) would take your breath and lift you off your feet—some of you, I mean, who might come without previous preparation. This is a fast age and the Yankees are among the fastest of the fast Anglo-Saxon race, and this is emphatically and preëminently a fast country." Not a doubt of it, my friend, amazingly fast. So fast that, in morals, manners, exegesis and philology, you are leaving the rest of the world in the lurch. I don't think I'll go. I would not understand your language. I don't like chivalry in your sense of the word. I might be taken for an Irish waiter by some member of Congress, or Mr. Brooks might knock me down and call it "a collision," and then take offence if I called him cowardly. Besides, I am told I have "small hope," and it takes a huge development of that organ to make a man worth anything as an Abolitionist in the United States. Indeed, it is not a sanguine temperament that sustains me here, but a reliance, that I cannot let go, on the ultimate triumph of justice and mercy over that thick cloud of selfishness and prejudice that obscures the greatness of the United States, and delivers them over a prey to the meanest, wickedest and vilest of mankind. Is there really any other country in which so much moral and political profligacy are openly professed and gloried in without shame? If things go on thus unchecked for a very few years more, where, between Canada and the Gulf of Mexico, shall an honest man go to hide his head?

But I have run away from my friend's talk, of how fast a people you are. It reminds me of a book you may not have seen—Mrs. Austin's Germany from 1760 to 1814—in which that accomplished writer gives, from various German authors, pictures of Social life in Germany fifty or sixty years ago, so *slow* that even we are going at railway speed in comparison. I copied a few of them for your edification; and if you like them, they can go into your fourth page. I confess, when I think of the Californian member's bowie-knife and the South Carolinian assassin's cane, I feel there is something soothing, comfortable, kindly and kind-hearted in this old-fashioned, patriarchal, German still life, that I prefer it to American whirl, even with the advantage of being carried off my legs and having my breath knocked out by it.

Yours ever truly, RICHARD D. WEBB.

NEW ANTI-SLAVERY TRACT.—Tract No. 19, of the American Anti-Slavery Society's series, will be issued without delay. It is upon the Religion of the land in its relations to the Anti-Slavery movement (this may not be the precise title), and has been prepared by Mr. CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, of Boston, a gentleman every way qualified to treat the subject with ability and thoroughness.

The Tracts of the Society may be obtained, for gratuitous distribution, at their office, No. 138 Nassau street, New York; at the Anti-Slavery Office in Philadelphia, 31 North Fifth street; at the Anti-Slavery Office in Boston, 21 Cornhill; of JOEL MCMILLAN, Salem, Columbiana Co., Ohio; and of JACOB WALTON, Jr., Adrian, Michigan.

A FAITHFUL PREACHER ARRAIGNED.

OUR readers will remember the bold anti-slavery sermon of the Rev. MONCURE D. CONWAY, preached in the Unitarian pulpit in Washington, in January last, and published in THE STANDARD of Feb. 16th. The following extract from a Washington letter in the *Evening Post* of Tuesday conveys the cheering information that the daring young preacher has given further evidence of his devotion to the cause and of his determination to do his whole duty in rebuking iniquity in high places.

WASHINGTON, July 13, 1856.

Two important cases, one in the church and the other in the courts of law, were awaiting a decision to-day in the Capital City, but both failed of coming to a final verdict. The one was the case of Herbert, the waiter-killer; the other of Conway, the Unitarian clergyman, on trial before his congregation for preaching anti-slavery heresies in a slaveholding community.

Mr. Conway has preached in this city for the last two years, in the Unitarian church, the members of which invited him on the distinct understanding that he was a zealous and out-spoken anti-slavery man. But last Winter, in the midst of the Speakership excitement, he first horrified his parishioners by the exhibition of his opinions. They had a meeting on the matter, but determined that it was not best to turn him out. Two weeks ago, however, he blew another blast on Kansas, with variations on other anti-slavery themes, that appalled his congregation like the trumpets of Jericho. The executive committee of the church could stand it no longer, and called a meeting, after the services of to-day, "to consider the recent course of our pastor."

Being a little anxious to know what would be done, I attended the religious services which this morning preceded the threatened demonstration of the executive committee. Mr. Conway chose for his text Isaiah 30th, 10th, which, if my remembrance serves me, reads like this: "Say unto the seers, see not; and unto the prophets, prophesy not right things, but speak unto us smooth things." Upon this text he preached a discourse marked by great plainness of speech, and much eloquence and originality of illustration, vindicating the course he had pursued in reference to the question of slavery. He showed, in the first place, by quotations from sermons preached to the congregation before he was invited to become their pastor, that his principles were fully known to them in advance, and that he had not gained their confidence by any concealment of them. Next he argued that he had only performed his duty in disobeying the injunction to preach only "smooth things" to his flock, maintaining that anti-slavery was a vital and inseparable constituent of the Unitarian creed, and that the preaching of it was sanctioned by the example of its leading expounders, Channing, Dewey, Bellows and others. He said that it was the office of Christianity to assail sin, however strongly intrenched behind the forms of law, or incorporated into the institutions of the country. Those who desired to have the pulpit "say smooth things" would convert the church into an antiquarian society, which would go into ecstacies of distress over the oppressions of Egyptian Pharaoh, or into ecstacies of admiration of Daniel, who preferred the lion's den to obedience to an unrighteous edict of civil authority, but would say nothing about our modern Pharaohs and Daniels, until they became as obsolete as the oppressors and heroes of Biblical story. For his part he could not agree with them. When he saw an institution like slavery, so injurious to its immediate victims, and causing such outrages as are now witnessed in a distant Territory—when he saw one of his own parishioners stricken down in the Senate for asserting—a right so essential to the Unitarian faith—the right of free speech, he could not hold his peace. Mr. Conway also considered at length the objections against his course, such as that it could do no good, and produced discord in the church and lessened its popularity, adding, that if the congregation would strike out other characteristic doctrines, besides anti-slavery, such, for example, as the unity of God, from their creed, they would still more augment their numbers and popularity; but he certainly, in that case, would have nothing to do with such a church. He denied that he had ever preached partisan politics in the pulpit, but thought his opponents rather inconsistent in bringing the charge against him, since they had once passed a vote of thanks to the Rev. W. P. Lunt for an anti-higher law sermon, of which they had also procured the publication.

When the services were over, a meeting of the congregation was held, in which the conduct of the minister was discussed with some feeling on both sides. The Executive Committee read a report censuring Mr. Conway, and virtually, though not in explicit terms, requesting a vote for his dismissal, for persisting in preaching politics. But there was clearly a decisive majority the other way, who maintained that the committee was a mere business committee, and had, in its recommendation, transcended its powers. It was also declared that it would be ruinous to the prosperity of the society and to its good name to impose restrictions upon the freedom of the pulpit.

At last the suggestion was made, by a venerable conservative member, that the whole subject be postponed till the annual business meeting in November, which was silently acquiesced in. Whereupon it was voted that the church take a recess till October. This postponement till after the Presidential election was a very shrewd move, as it leaves Mr. Conway's dismissal or retention contingent on the election of Fremont or Buchanan. The leading opponents of Mr. Conway are permanently connected with the government, and, it may be supposed, it was thought that a Republican triumph might so liberalize their opinions that they could then endure more patiently his anti-slavery appeals. Both parties, the pro and anti-Conway, however, are satisfied with this sagacious measure of pacification, and both claim to have gained their object.

Mr. Conway himself, whose anti-slavery boldness has rendered him so conspicuous, is a Virginian by birth and education, and a nephew of Justice Daniels of the Supreme Court. He was formerly a Methodist, but is now one of the most promising of the young clergymen in the Unitarian denomination. His position in the church of the Federal City gives this flareup a notoriety and significance which it would not otherwise obtain.

MR. SUMNER.—*The Tribune* of Monday furnishes the following statement in relation to the health of Mr. Sumner:

"In passing through Philadelphia, Senator Sumner consulted a physician there of approved skill, who, on a careful inquiry into his case, pronounced that there were no symptoms of any organic disease in the brain. His pulse was found to be regular but low, like that of an invalid, and his whole nervous system feeble and disturbed. This is attributed to severe prostration, which he has undergone. The remedy prescribed for his recovery has been entire rest and abstinence from all cares or public duties. The physician did not think he could venture upon these before September without serious peril to his permanent health. Mr. Sumner, however, still hopes, by present rest, to become so far restored that he may take his seat again during this session of Congress, from which he has never before been absent a single day for the five years that he has been a Senator.

"Mr. S. has gone to the cottage of a friend at the sea shore."

PHILIP T. HERBERT, Member of Congress from California, was tried last week in Washington for the murder of Keating, the Irish waiter, at Willard's Hotel. The trial was little better than a farce, the Court and the attorney for the Government evidently meaning to secure his acquittal. One or two of the jury, however, obstinately refused their assent to such a verdict, and a new trial has been ordered. The San Francisco *Bulletin*, received by the last steamer, asserts that Herbert is "the representative of the rowdy and gambling interests," the "Bowie-knife and revolver fraternity" of California; that he was never known to be without arms when at home; that "his antecedents, in short, are of the worst kind," and that murder is in "perfect keeping with his past history and present character."

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.—It will be seen by the notice in another column that the Abolitionists of Massachusetts propose, as usual, to celebrate the First of August in the beautiful Grove at Abington. The Coloured People of New Bedford will also celebrate the day; and we observe in a Rochester paper an advertisement of a celebration to be held at Clifton Springs (N. Y.), where Gerrit Smith is expected to preside, and speeches are to be made by him and H. H. Garnet.

The New York Anti-Slavery Society, for special reasons, will not celebrate the anniversary this year.

J. MERCER LANGSTON, a coloured graduate of Oberlin and a man of fine abilities as a writer and speaker, has been appointed by the State Central Committee of the Coloured People of Ohio an agent to lecture throughout the State, on subjects pertaining to the interests and welfare of the Coloured People, but particularly upon the justice, the propriety and importance of giving to the coloured men of Ohio the elective franchise. He has already entered upon the service assigned him. Wm. J. Watkins and Peter H. Clark are also lecturing in the same State in behalf of the same objects.

THE SERMON on the fourth page has not only been made historical by the effects it produced, but is a production of rare interest and value. No one who reads it can fail to see that Mr. Tyng thoroughly understands his position and is prepared to meet the consequences resulting therefrom. It is no wonder that the pro-slavery members of his congregation were excited by his bold and manly utterance, and that one "master in Israel" so far forgot the proprieties of the occasion as to interrupt the preacher while speaking.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.—No. 634.—*Contents:* Hymnology; Charles Lamb; Lucy's Adventure; Time's Sponge; Escape of Orsini; The Athelings—or, The Three Gifts; Epidemics; The American Question—French Opinions; The Italian Question; Yankee Legislators; Naval Ode; Italians; Poetry; Short Articles. New York: 343 Broadway.

WILLIAM H. FISH is appointed a Lecturing Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society. His address is McLean, Tompkins Co., N. Y.

Summary.

THE MASSACHUSETTS LIQUOR LAW (the Maine law for substance) has been pronounced constitutional by the Supreme Court, and the convictions appealed from the Court below have been sent back with orders to sentence the offenders.

The *Louisville Journal* does not suppose that, in the event of Col. Fremont's election, the South would at once, and for that reason secede from the Union, but it has hardly a doubt that the disruption of the Union would be the inevitable result.

The *Christian Watchman* says: We learn from a reliable source that Rev. George D. Boardman, of Barnwell Court House, S. C., has been compelled to abandon his pastorate for refusing an expression of sympathy on the side of Brooks in his outrage on the Massachusetts Senator.

I heard a striking expression from the lips of a Southern lady, and a slaveholder, a day or two since, in allusion to the Sumner outrage. Remarking the fact that the State of South Carolina presented a sword to Col. Fremont for his services in the conquest of California, she said, "South Carolina presents her heroes with swords, and her cowards with canes."—*Wash. Cor. Times.*

THE MORMON TABERNACLE.—The *Northern Islander* says that the Mormon Tabernacle is again under way. Several years ago work was commenced on the Tabernacle, and in one year it had so far progressed that one room, 30 feet by 60, was in use, having only a temporary roof. The next year, in consequence of the persecution, the work was suspended, and is now resumed, after a delay of five years. When inclosed, it will accommodate 4,000 people standing, or seat 2,500.

ELOQUENT SPEECHES DELIVERED IN THE U. S. SENATE IN BEHALF OF DOUGLAS'S KANSAS BILL.—Senator Butler—You are a liar!

Senator Douglas—Does he want us to *kick* him like a dog?

Senator Pugh—You are not only a Black Republican, but a blackguard.

Mr. Keitt—Give it to him, Brooks! Let 'em alone, G—d d—n you. Let 'em alone, G—d d—n your soul!

THE PEOPLE *vs.* MERRILL AND RUSSELL, INDICTED AS KIDNAPPERS OF SOLOMON NORTHUP.—The defendants' counsel, at the Saratoga Oyer and Terminer, demurred to the indictment, on the ground that the defendants could only be tried in the District of Columbia. The demurrer was sustained. The case was carried to the Supreme Court by the District Attorney, and was again affirmed. An appeal was taken to the Court of Appeals, which, at its last term, overruled the decisions of the Oyer and Terminer and Supreme Court, and remanded the indictment to Saratoga County for trial, which will probably take place at the next Court.

NOTHING MORE LIKELY.—The editor of the Boston *Chronicle* is informed by a gentleman of high respectability and intelligence, who has resided for several years in Missouri, that when Thompson delivered to the border ruffians three hundred muskets and two brass cannon from the United States arsenal at Liberty, Mo., he was asked if he was not afraid he would get into difficulty with the government at Washington. He replied, "*no; he had telegraphed to Pierce, and it was all right.*"

In the Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb in this city, there are two slave girls, who are kept there at the expense of their owners. They are bright, intelligent scholars, and very much loved by their class-mates. In view of this fact, that slaveholders are to be found who prefer to dispose of their unsaleable property in a Christian-like and economical way, we have heard it suggested that perhaps after all slavery may be a very desirable institution, and that everybody should vote for Mr. Buchanan.—*Daily Times.*

Among the passengers who sailed for Europe, in the Asia, last week, was Mr. Bayard Taylor, who goes to spend two or three years in Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Russia, those being the only parts of that continent which this distinguished traveller has not visited. Mr. Taylor contemplates returning home by the route across Northern Asia, Siberia and Mantchouria to the mouth of the river Amour, whence he will take ship for Oregon or California. During his absence he will correspond exclusively with the *Tribune*, in all editions of which his letters will regularly appear.

THE BROOKS FINE.—The *National Intelligencer*, which has been very reserved when speaking of the Brooks assault on Mr. Sumner, speaks as follows of Judge Crawford's judgment:

"Touching the judgment of the Court, we are bound to say that it has certainly fallen short of the public anticipation—not the anticipation, still less the wish, of partisans or zealots, but of the calm and judicious—men who are capable of respecting the wounded sensibilities of a high-spirited gentleman, not less than public decorum and immunity of the Senator and the Senate house."

A PRINTER TARRED AND FEATHERED.—J. F. Cummings writes from Topeka, Kansas, to the Chicago *Tribune*, that, on his way to that Territory, in May last, he was forcibly dragged from the steamboat at Lexington by a mob, led into the woods, questioned as to his principles, and on avowing that he was in favour of making Kansas a free State, he was stripped and tarred and feathered. He was also severely beaten and left by the road side. He walked, in the following night, fifteen miles to a wood-yard, where he took the first boat for St. Louis, and made a successful attempt, a few days after, to get to Kansas, where he arrived safe and still remains.

HOOPS.—We think the hoops which the ladies, in the exercise of their undoubted sovereignty, have added to their dresses have been the subject of unnecessary complaint. As the matter has been explained to us, we understand that the hoops take the place of from five to fifteen skirts or petticoats, the weight and encumbrance of which are alike unhealthy and uncomfortable. The hoop is light and not ungraceful, and, although there is no need of making it big enough to go round a country lawyer's office, as the amusing correspondent of the Pawtucket *Chronicle* would say, still pretty formidable dimensions may be endured, and, since the ladies are sure to have their own way, we may say, must be endured.—*Prov. Journal.*

JUDGE MCLEAN.—The Alexandria (Va.) *Gazette* remarks: "Judge McLean wrote a letter to the Black Republican Convention, requesting his name to be withdrawn, in case there was any difficulty about his nomination. There was a "difficulty"—decidedly—and he was withdrawn. Judge McLean has lessened his dignity and injured the public confidence in him by his whole course. We wish he would resign his seat on the bench of the Supreme Court. In any question touching the rights of the South, hereafter, he will be *doubted* as to his fairness. Judges should not be politicians."

THE PROFITS OF THE N. Y. TRIBUNE.—It is stated in the papers that the semi-annual dividend of *The Tribune* establishment amounts to about 125 per cent. per annum on the capital stock, or over $60,000 for the past six months. The proprietors have just purchased *The Tribune* buildings from Mr. Thompson Price, the well-known contractor, and father-in-law of Mr. McElrath, for $130,000, paying down 25 per cent. of the purchase money out of their semi-annual earnings. They also donated $1,000 to the Kansas Aid Committee, and $1,000 to the Fremont Vigilance Committee, leaving about 40 per cent. of the earnings to be divided among the stockholders.

A mammoth address from the citizens of Manchester, England, to the people of America, in favour of peace, is exhibited in the Merchants' Exchange Reading Rooms, Boston. It has attached to it 31,641 names. It is a noticeable fact that while the people of England have been filled with anxious apprehensions of a war with this country, here the people have been absolutely indifferent about it—not that we did not deprecate such a catastrophe, but no one believed that there was any occasion for it, or that it could possibly occur. We know how much our rulers mean by bluster; the British don't seem to understand theirs so well.—*Springfield Republican.*

It became in some way known that Col. Fremont had accepted an invitation to spend the Fourth of July with Col. Webb, at Tarrytown, and public preparations were immediately made for his reception. Col. Fremont ascertained the fact, and, in accordance with his determination not to give public receptions during the Presidential contest, remained in New York. When the hour arrived, great was the disappointment, but the crowd appreciated the motive of the man, and gave him three times three hearty cheers. But "Jessie," with a little Fremont, was there, and while the 3,000 collected treated them with all courtesy, they could not refrain from three cheers for their benefit.

The Iowa route to Kansas is now complete, so far as it can be made with stage routes. From Chicago to Iowa City there is a complete railway connection, and from the latter point to Dayton, on the Missouri river, opposite Nebraska City, a new stage route has been established. This carries the line to the south-western corner of Iowa. From Nebraska City another line of stages will be established through the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas to the town of Topeka, on the Kansas river, the Free State Capital. Thus a wide berth is given to the Missouri vicinity, and the whole route passes through a region which is beyond the interference of the followers of Atchison and Stringfellow. The Company organized for the purpose of establishing the line is said to be fully responsible, to have a capital, and to be, in all respects, reliable.

BROOKS'S DEFENCE OF HIMSELF.—His defence of himself is the very sublime of impudence; there is nothing in literature to which it can be compared but the justification of his rascalities by Jonathan Wild the Great, in his colloquies with the Newgate ordinary, which may have served Mr. Brooks for a model. He calls his brutality "honourable revenge," and compares himself to a brother avenging the degradation of a sister, and to a husband chastising the violator of his wife's honour. Judge Crawford was quite loth to injure the sensibilities of so chivalric a gentleman, and therefore avoided any unpleasant allusions to his offence, and contented himself with sentencing him in the mildest and most respectful manner to the payment of the nominal fine of three hundred dollars.—*Daily Times.*

RELIGIOUS EXCITEMENT IN MARBLEHEAD, MASS.—Considerable excitement exists in Marblehead, in relation to the action of certain clergymen upon the late Fourth of July celebration. The Methodist minister, last Sabbath, expressed the opinion that it was a time for national mourning, and not rejoicing—that our liberties had been cloven down; and went generally into the slavery question, and rebuked the town authorities for allowing the sale of spirituous liquors on that day. This called forth very general indignation from those who had taken part in the celebration. His choir deserted their seats during the sermon, and some of the leading members of the church called him to account after the services, and there is a general commotion in the society. The Baptist minister has given notice, that on next Sunday, he shall preach upon the "crime of the nation," which has occasioned a stir in another quarter.—*Newburyport Herald, July* 11.

THE GREAT HEART.—Gerrit Smith has just pledged himself to give $1,500 a month for the next twelve months, to aid in establishing Freedom in Kansas. He gave, but a short time since, at the Kansas relief meeting in Albany, $3,000. Prior to that, he had sent about $1,000 to the Boston Emigrant Committee. Out of his own funds, he subsequently equipped a Madison County Company, of 100 picked men, and paid their expenses to the distant Territory. At Syracuse he made a votive offering upon the altar of Liberty of $10,000. When the generous subscription made yesterday at Buffalo shall be complete, this "Champion of Freedom" will have given at least $40,000 to make a Republican State out of the slavery-coveted Kansas Territory. Great-hearted man! There is no doubt of your place in the history of American Republicanism.—*Albany Evening Journal.*

MUSIC BY STEAM.—Some one in Worcester has invented a steam whistle, or rather improved the old one, so that tunes can be played, or ratter screeched, upon it. Last week the new invention, called the Calliope, was tried on the Worcester and Nashua Road, and is thus described by the Worcester *Transcript*. The tune played upon the occasion was "Old Dan Tucker:"

"The effect was magical, nay wonderful, exciting and amusing. Men left their fields and workshops, and rushed for the railway; with them came women with their babies, and without, children innumerable and swarming like ants when their ant hill is trodden on, all agape and agrin, with wonder and delight; everything animate was on the *qui vive*.

"The horses danced pirouettes to the music; the very pigs relaxed the tension of their tortuous tails, and stupid calves, that ne'er had heard of melody, in dumb amazement snuffed the music laden air and stood agape, their pendant tails outstanding straight behind! 'Twas marvellous, and we should not have been surprised if all the bending woods, charmed by the Orphic strains, had walked adown the shaded hills, and made obeisance to the Calliope, even as, to the terror of Macbeth, the lofty 'Birnam wood' came down 'to Dunsinane.'"

SERMON ON THE HIGHER LAW.—Last Sabbath morning, Rev. Samuel Aaron preached a sermon in vindication of the Higher Law—a principle ridiculed and sneered at all over the country by unscrupulous politicians, and heartless slave-drivers. Mr. Aaron forcibly argued that the Higher Law was the law of God, and of course was paramount to an enactment of his creature man. He ran over the history of nations, and proved that those nations which had had no revolutions, no vindication of the Higher Law, were the most depraved and the most ignorant, that the nations noted for their progress in civilization, Christianity and enlightened liberty were remarkable for revolutions. In this connection he dwelt with great force upon our own nation. Whatever good is to be found amongst us, said the speaker, was born of revolution, and whatever of evil is the legitimate fruit of the old fogy notion that we must *not agitate*. The lecturer was very happy in illustrations, and was listened to with great attention by a large and intelligent congregation.—*Norristown (Pa.) Olive Branch.*

THE MOON.—Dr. Scoresby, in an account that he has given of some recent observations made with the Earl of Rosse's telescope, says: "With respect to the moon, every object on its surface of one hundred feet was now distinctly to be seen, and he had no doubt that, under very favourable circumstances, it would be so with objects sixty feet in height. On its surface were craters of extinct volcanoes, rocks, and masses of stones almost innumerable. He had no doubt that if such a building as he was then in were upon the surface of the moon, it would be rendered distinctly visible by these instruments. But there were no signs of inhabitants such as ours—no vestige of architecture remains to show that the moon is or ever was inhabited by a race of mortals similar to ourselves. It presented no appearance which could lead to the supposition that it contained anything like the green fields and lovely verdure of this beautiful world of ours. There was no water visible—not a sea, or river, or even the measure of a reservoir for supplying town or factory—all seemed desolate."

CALIFORNIA.—The last advices from San Francisco inform us that there had been no diminution of the excitement growing out of the proceedings of the Vigilance Committee in hanging two notorious criminals and banishing others. The Committee continued in active operation. Six more rogues had been banished from the State, and orders to arrest others had been issued. The force and *matériel* of the Committee comprised ten regiments of men, six thousand stands of arms, and thirty pieces of cannon. Books had been opened in which the names of recruits were entered by thousands. Strong breastworks have been erected in front of the Committee's headquarters, and on the adjoining buildings cannon were planted, to repel any attack from the Governor's forces, which, to the number of a few hundreds only, were encamped near the city. The Governor had visited Benicia to procure arms from the United States Arsenal, but General Wool, the Commander of the Pacific department of the army, refused to accede to the demand made upon him therefor. The Governor's proclamation against the action of the Committee had met with no favourable response; on the contrary, in nearly all the towns of the interior enthusiastic meetings had been held endorsing the proceedings of the Committee, and the formation of companies to assist them was going on vigorously. In the meantime, crimes and casualities were numerous, business was neglected, and politics even ceased to create any interest.

THE GERMAN PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES.—The number and influence of the purely German papers in this country will surprise those who have given the subject no attention. A full list is furnished by one of the number, and it foots up 34 dailies and 79 weeklies, or a total of 113. Of these 17 are printed in New York, 28 in Pennsylvania, 19 in Ohio, 5 in Missouri, 9 in Illinois, 10 in Wisconsin, 3 in Iowa, Indiana, Maryland and Texas each, 2 in California, Virginia and Louisiana each, and 1 in New Jersey, South Carolina, Minnesota and the District of Columbia each. In the slave States are 18, in the free 95. Of those in the free States, 49 (15 dailies and 34 weeklies) support Fremont for President, and 45 (10 dailies and 35 weeklies) Buchanan; in the slave States 4 support Fremont and 12 Buchanan. The last comparison shows that a greater proportion of the Germans of the slave States sustain the side of freedom, than of the rest of the white population. This is natural, for the Germans are all free labourers, and are interested in their comparative respectability and power as such.

Miscellaneous Department.

OUR COUNTRY'S TROUBLES.

SERMON PREACHED BY REV. DUDLEY A. TYNG,

In Philadelphia, June 29, 1856.

"Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it."—*1 Cor.*, xii., 26.

It is a mooted question how far the Christian pulpit may and ought to be enlisted in the consideration of current events, and the discussion of questions of public interest. It is undoubtedly a great evil when the teachers of religion forsake their appropriate themes to mingle in all the heated controversies of the day. Nothing could be more calculated to break down the influence of the ministry, and to rear up insuperable barriers of angry prejudice against the message of mercy which it is its business to declare. But may there not also be an opposite extreme? May there not be silence when great principles are at stake? May not great wrongs go unchallenged of the pulpit till there be supposed nothing in them inconsistent with religion? May not the dread of offence be carried so far as to put the pulpit in bondage? And may not the refusal to take sides in great questions of public opinion result in the Gospel being supposed to have nothing to do with the affairs of society, and in contempt on all hands for the ministry, for its fear of speaking out? Ministers have the same interest in society and its institutions as other citizens; perhaps more so: for their happiness is peculiarly bound up in the right influence of religious and moral principles upon the community. Society can suffer in no member without a true-hearted Christian ministry suffering with it.

Religion itself, moreover, is often vitally affected by events transpiring in social and political life. Evil principles may be at work in the social system, whose ultimate tendency is to destroy the practical influence of Christianity over the conduct of men, and to undermine the foundations of their faith. Is the pulpit to keep silence until the adversaries of the faith, having completely invested it with intrenchments in public custom and opinion, are boldly demanding its surrender? Human nature is a unit. Its many interests are but one body. And the sufferings of any one of its members are in the vital organs. Questions of social and political economy, as well as of moral principle, may be the media of deadly wounds to the religious life. In fact, Christianity enters into every interest of man. And as Christians and Christian ministers, we are interested in everything that concerns humanity. We cannot disconnect our religion from the details of our common life. It affects or is affected by them all. "They are many members, yet but one body. And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you." "And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it." Owing to the close interchange of sympathy and influence, the events of the day may assume a deep religious significance. The same events which in one aspect agitate commercial interests, and in another convulse the political circles, may in yet another be fraught with stirring interest for the religious community. And while they awaken great contention on the plane of social or political life, they may also, from the higher stand-point of the Christian patriot, be seen to affect the dearest rights and interests of men, and to endanger great principles to the support of which the pulpit is bound. At such times the Christian ministry may be criminal if it does not speak out boldly in behalf of right, carefully avoiding, indeed, the arousing of those passions which belong to the lower aspect of events, but fearlessly and dispassionately directing public sentiment by the higher principles of Divine revelation.

It seems to me that we have now reached such a time. Events are transpiring which bear most momentously on all our rights as men and duties as Christians. All that is most dear and valuable to us as citizens is put in jeopardy. The principles and influence of Christianity, which first founded our institutions, can alone preserve them to us in their integrity in the present crisis. And I claim the right, as a Christian minister, to declare what I believe to be important truth, and to do my part, small as it may be, towards the settlement of the difficulties which encompass us.

I claim a patient hearing, and a candid comparison with the principles of the Bible. If I am wrong, I am open to conviction; if I am right, the declaration of the truth will bring the responsibility of walking by its light. With this prefatory statement, let me call your attention,

I. To the EVILS to be deplored.

For the first time in the history of this country, it is the scene of civil war. Armed men, in battle array, are marching on its soil, and carrying with them all the horrors of a hostile invasion. Towns are sacked, houses pillaged, property plundered and destroyed, women and children driven in terror from their homes, and men shot down by their own doors! Society is in confusion, public security at an end, peaceful industry interrupted, and a thriving Territory reduced to a state of nature, where the only protection is that of force, and the household cannot lie down at night without fear of the assassin. Families are driven out from lands which they have tilled and houses which they have built, and warned to leave the country or be hung. Fields lie unsown, and crops are left unploughed because armed marauders have stolen the farmer's horses and killed his oxen, and obliged him to skuik in secret for fear of his life, or join bodies of his neighbours who have armed in defence of their homes and families. All the horrors which existed when invading armies marched with blood and desolation on our soil—all the suffering which drenched our frontiers when the war-whoop of the savage around the sleeping household for the tomahawk and the faggot—are now renewed in unhappy Kansas. Hardly a day passes without bringing telegraphic news of some new outrage, so dreadful that we can scarce realize its possibility, or arouse ourselves to feel as the occasion demands. And who are the authors of all these outrages on American citizens? Not the savage Indian nor the foreign invader, but their own countrymen, citizens of our own free and happy land, imbruing their hands in brothers' blood! And what is the crime for which their brothers are thus subjected to invasion and violence? Merely *difference of opinion*; merely assertion of their right to think, speak, write, and act according to their own conscience and interests in forming the institutions of a Territory into which the capital and population of the country were invited by a solemn act of the Federal Government. On the 30th of May, 1854, the Territory of Kansas was thrown open to settlers by act of Congress, and the privilege of determining the character of its institutions accorded to those who should become residents of its soil. Attracted by this opening for industry and enterprise, large numbers of persons from all sections of the country emigrated to the Territory, and soon made its prairies to smile with cultivation, and dotted its surface with towns and villages. Never country opened with brighter prospects. But how soon was the bright morn overcast! On the 29th of November, 1854, the infant Territory was to elect a Delegate to appear and speak in its behalf in the National Congress. On that day more than one thousand armed men from an adjoining State invaded the Territory, drove judges and legal voters from the polls, and, by fraudulent ballots, elected a man of their own. On the 30th of March, 1855, the inhabitants of Kansas were to have elected their Territorial Legislature. More than four thousand armed men from the same State again invaded the Territory, took possession of the polls and elected their own candidates, some of them residents of their own State. The recent investigations of the Congressional Committee have proved that of five thousand five hundred votes cast on that day, less than one thousand were of actual residents of the Territory. Surely it was bad enough to see a Legislature imposed on them by force and fraud. But what sort of laws did they pass? Hear, and ask yourself whether we live in the Nineteenth Century, and in a free and Christian Republic. They reenacted in a mass all the slave laws of Missouri, merely adding that wherever the word "State" occurs in them it shall be construed to mean "Territory." They made the non-admission of the right to hold slaves in the Territory a disqualification for sitting as Juror. They enacted that to say that persons have not a right to hold slaves in that Territory should be punished with two years' imprisonment at hard labour; that writing, printing, or circulating anything against slavery should be punished with five years' imprisonment at hard labour; that the harbouring of fugitive slaves should be punished with five years' imprisonment at hard labour; that assisting slaves to escape from any Territory, and take refuge in that Territory, should be punished with *death*; that the printing or circulation of publications calculated to incite slaves to insurrection should be punished with *death*; to secure these laws perpetuity, they enacted that all who do not swear to support the Fugitive Slave law should be disqualified as voters, but that any one might vote who will pay one dollar and swear to uphold the Fugitive Slave law and the Nebraska bill. And, still further to guard against all contingencies, they appointed non-residents to town and county offices for six years ahead.

Thus, by one stroke of combined fraud and force, the great questions of social rights, whose settlement had been pledged to the citizens themselves, were decided by an invading army, whose agents establish slavery against the wishes of the people, disfranchise all who oppose it, open the polls to all pro-slavery non-residents, and shut up all who speak, write, print or circulate anything against it with long imprisonment at hard labour. What has become of the rights of American citizens? Talk of obedience to law! Would you, would any American, obey such laws so imposed? Where were the spirit of our Revolutionary fathers if such oppression could be submitted to? Where is our Republican Government if such rights can be taken away?

But what was done in opposition? There was no armed resistance, no collision with assumed authority. The people of Kansas simply denied the legality of the enactments and the obligation of obedience, and then, falling back on inherent rights, went through the preliminaries of a State organization, and applied to Congress for relief. That relief has not been yet afforded. And what has since transpired? A third, fourth and fifth armed invasion has taken place, each with increased aggravation of outrage. Pillage, and plunder, and murder, have increased from day to day. Large bodies of armed men from distant and adjoining States are in the Territory, with no attempt at becoming settlers, without means of honest support, living by the pillage of those who differ from themselves in sentiment, and perpetrating cruelties unknown even in war. Government troops have been used to overawe all attempts at resistance, and moved about so as to expose unprotected towns to violence. A fourfold process of oppression has been used to ruin and drive out those whose only crime is the claiming of rights guaranteed to them by the very law which invited them to Kansas. First, innumerable indictments for imaginary crimes are made out by a corrupt judiciary against all Free State men of influence, while the worst of crimes, by men of opposite politics, have gone unnoticed. Secondly, armed hordes of ruffians, under pretence of maintaining "law and order," patrol the country, committing all the outrages which have been described. Thirdly, the United States dragoons are made use of by the local authorities to suppress any risings for self-defence, and kept out of the way when attacks are to be made. And, lastly, "Vigilance Committees" are appointed to drive off, with threats of "Lynch law," all those who, by the other methods, have not been subdued. All this has been going on for months. And recent accounts announce that the sufferers themselves are driven by desperation to armed defence, and the hostile bands are now watching each other, and meeting in deadly conflict. Civil war is begun. And where is it to end, unless it can be suppressed at once in the place of its birth? Let it not be said that we have no interest in the matter. Distant and feeble as she may be, Kansas is a member of our body politic. The same life-blood which nourishes our own community flows through her. And the wounds and anguish which she endures are felt even to the remotest parts of the Republic. Ties of friendship and of blood unite her suffering children to all sections of our country. And were these wanting, a common nationality binds them in one body to us all, and the great heart of humanity enfolds them in its sympathies. "Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it."

At the same time that these events have been transpiring, another scene has been enacted which has inflicted a still deeper wound on the honour and peace of our country. A member of the Senate of the United States, a man honoured equally for his virtues and his attainments, has been stricken down and beaten by a member of Congress till his blood stained the floor of the Senate, for words spoken in debate. It matters not what were the words which gave offence, though it may well be supposed that language unchallenged at the time by a body whose majority were in opposition to the speaker did not transgress the ordinary limits of parliamentary debate. It matters not what were the words, nor who the speaker, nor who the assailant. It was a principle which was stricken down. And the principle is one of the pillars of our free institutions. Without the right of freedom of speech, neither our liberties nor our religion are secure. If the bludgeon is to be the ruling power in our country, where will be our boasted freedom and national Christianity? If the flag of our country and the symbols of her liberty cannot protect the members of her Government within the walls of her Capitol, in the discharge of their official duty, what is to become of our Republic? With the freedom of the Press overthrown in Kansas, and the freedom of the Senate assailed in Washington, how long before the freedom of the pulpit shall be also at the mercy of a popular majority or of a reckless and excitable bully? There is not a legislator, or an editor, or a clergyman in the country, whose right to advocate what he conscientiously believes, nor a citizen whose right to representation of his sentiments, has not been assailed in the blows which laid the eloquent Sumner senseless on the floor of the Senate Chamber. But the act itself is not so ominous of evil as its indorsement. To hear it defended and eulogized throughout the whole section represented by the assassin, by public assemblies giving votes of thanks for his iniquity, by the press almost unanimously holding it up as worthy of imitation, and by fellow-representatives who screen the offender from punishment, may well make one feel sadly apprehensive for our country. It indicates that we are becoming unworthy of our heritage, and that the sentiment of justice and right has rotted away in the foundation of government. Alas for our country, when the makers of her laws dare not speak in defence of what they deem human right, or must go armed with deadly weapons for protection in the discharge of their duty! God forbid that the ministers of religion should refuse to speak in reprobation of the evil.

II. But let us look, secondly, at the *impelling principle* of these outrages. They have all one impulse—the aggressive spirit of Slavery. Let it be noted and remembered that all these wrongs grew out of a determination to extend the area of human bondage. Why are armed hordes now traversing Kansas with pillage and murder? Simply that they may extend over it the blight of slavery. Why are men illegally arrested, robbed, driven from home, hunted like beasts or shot down dead in the fields? Simply because they desire to save their home and family from the blight of slavery. Why are they denied the protection of a Government whose pride it is to protect its citizens to the furthest verge of the habitable globe? Merely because they will not submit to force and fraud to be cursed with slavery. Why was Senator Sumner assailed and beaten in the Senate? Merely because he spoke too pointedly and plainly for their deliverance from the attempted curse of slavery. The sole impulse of all these outrages is the desire to extend slavery. The sole crime of the sufferers is the invincible desire to be free. The blood of a Senator has stained the floor of the Senate Chamber, the blood of her citizens has been poured out like water on the virgin soil of Kansas, merely that it may be made a land of bondage. The whole South is aroused and pours forth invading armies, and the whole influence and power of the Federal Government are employed to aid them, merely because the actual residents of Kansas, in the exercise of the rights guaranteed them by the law which opened the Territory to settlers, are largely determined that it shall be free. Ignoble contest! Where slavery is let it remain. Let it be apologized for and mitigated as it can. I am not one of those who would attack the South for the inheritance of perplexity and shame which Northern cupidity was originally a joint agent in introducing. Let them mourn over the embarrassments and evils of their lot, and strive to discharge their duty as Christian masters to the people they have found dependant and in servitude. Thus out of their birthright of misfortune they may work out a blessing to the subject race, and a mission of mercy for themselves. To apologize for an involuntary evil is one thing. To strive to extend and perpetuate it is another. We may regard the former with the truest charity. But, as freemen and Christians, what must we say of the latter?

But why are Southern men so madly resolved that Kansas shall be thrown open to slavery? Is it because they desire themselves to be residents of the country? Very few of them have any such idea. But it will give them, first, an increase of political power. It will wheel another State into the phalanx, and give them two more Senatorial votes for that control of the Government which the far swifter progress of the Free States has taken from them in the House of Representatives. Few among us have reflected on the political power given by slavery to the few. Three-fifths of all the slaves are counted in with the whites as the basis of representation, largely increasing the political importance of the white person at the South over the white person at the North. Of the whites, large numbers are either disfranchised by a property qualification or are completely under the control of their wealthier neighbours. Political honours and influence are confined to a few. In the whole sixteen slaveholding States there are less than 100,000 persons owning more than ten slaves each. How many of these are desirous of deserting their plantations and emigrating to Kansas? But these are the persons who control the policy of sixteen States, and, by their influence at home and at the North, have controlled the policy and monopolized the honours of the General Government. Is it to be wondered at that they should make such desperate efforts to extend so disproportionate an importance? And as it grows so it will grow, until this whole land of liberty shall be made tributary to the perpetuation of human bondage.

The establishment of slavery in Kansas will give them, secondly, a new market for slaves. The pecuniary value of slavery arises not from the productiveness of slave labour. It costs much and produces little, wastes largely and wears out the soil it cultivates. Left to itself, it impoverishes, in the long run, both land and owner, and would gradually work out its own extermination. But slavebreeding compensates for the expensiveness of slave labour. To breed human beings for sale, to rear immortal souls that they may be driven like cattle to the market and sold to the highest bidder, is a profitable business. Families and estates are maintained by such breeding and sale, often of blood relations. To keep up the price, the market must be extended. New States and Territories must have their virgin soil thrown open to slavery, and, as their lands also become impoverished, join the slave-breeding States in the ceaseless cry of the horse-leech and her daughters. Kansas is now invaded and outraged merely that it may be made a land of bondage, and that for the increase of a political power inimical to our free institutions, and a stimulus to the breeding of human beings for sale.

And what is the pretence under which these evil deeds are covered up, and the acquiescence of the country in them is sought? It is the equal right of men of all sections of the country to go with their property into the national territory. It is said that to deny the right of slaveholders to carry their property there is to destroy the equality of our citizens. As this is the grand plea, which is designed to, and to some extent does, impose on the public mind for excuse of all these enormities, it is essential that it should be examined. Let it be observed then, in the first place, that the claimed right of carrying one's *identical property* with him in removal is an absurdity. How much property is there in its nature so local that it *cannot* be removed? Who could remove his farm, or his fishery, or his water-power? Yet who ever thought of declaiming against the injustice of Nature and Providence, because he could not take them to Kansas? The proceeds of their sale he can take. And has anybody ever denied to the slaveholder the right to take to Kansas the proceeds of the sale of his slaves, as well as the proceeds of the sale of his plantation? Secondly, the right of property in human beings is not a natural right, but merely the result of local laws. Outside the jurisdiction of those laws, the right does not exist. There are States where lotteries are not allowed by law. A lottery interest is the property of its holder. Because lotteries are proscribed in Kansas or elsewhere, has the lottery-holder cause to complain of the overthrow of his constitutional rights? Shall Kansas be invaded and drenched in blood because its inhabitants will not pass the local laws which in other States have made lotteries property? With as much reason as because they will not establish property in human flesh and blood. The property which results from local laws can be sold where those local laws have made it valuable, and its proceeds taken wherever the owner may please. And is the Union to be convulsed, and peaceful Territory made the scene of war, and industrious citizens robbed and murdered, because some hot-headed individual has resolved that instead of taking his thousand dollars to Kansas in gold and silver, he will take it in the shape of a lottery office or a brother man? Let the flimsy pretext be understood. If the right of holding human beings as property results merely from local law, it is limited by the law which created it. If it be a natural right, it is as indefeasible in Pennsylvania as it is in Kansas. And this will be the final issue.

But, thirdly, it seems to be entirely forgotten that there are rights on the other side. It is a fundamental principle in law that one man must not, by his property, injure that of his neighbours. The welfare of the one must give way to the welfare of the many. Now, if one man has property in a fellow, there are thousands of others who have more undoubted property in themselves. If one claims the right of making the bodily labour of his fellow subserve his own comfort and advantage, there are thousands of others who claim a Divine and indefeasible right to make their own good arms available to their own support and advancement. And these two rights conflict. For slave labour and free labour are opposed to each other. Slavery degrades bodily labour. It makes a man's bodily strength and manual skill less availing for his own profit and elevation. It thus diminishes and takes away his inherent property in himself. It lessens his pecuniary reward, and shuts up the door of promotion. The question is, therefore, between the right of one [illegible] to the muscles of his neighbour and the right of thousands to the full benefit of their own muscles. It is whether one man is to leave his slave behind him, or whether a thousand white citizens are to be enslaved if they go. The rights of all our labouring classes, ten thousand to one slaveholder, are invaded in the attempt at the violent subjugation of Kansas. Moreover, there are many methods of remunerative labour of more intellectual character that are available only in a free community. In fact, there is scarcely a department of ingenuity or power which the history and present state of our country do not show to be circumscribed and depreciated by the presence of slavery. The intellectual, literary and inventive, as well as the bodily, powers of man become less available for individual and special prosperity. Every man, therefore, who is not himself a slaveholder, is interested for himself, his children, his relatives and friends, in the exclusion of slavery. His property and their property in their own minds and bodies is depreciated by the introduction of slave labour. The inalienable rights which God himself has given to him and them are arrayed against the merely local and transferable, not to say disputable, right of the slaveholder. The suffering in Kansas, the suffering of Sumner, is not in resistance of human rights, but it is martyrdom in defence of the rights of the many against the aggressions of a few. And the question is not whether there shall be maintained the rights of a few thousand slaveholders, but whether there shall be maintained the rights of millions of freemen.

III. But, thirdly, let us not lose sight of the Divine agency in all the troubles which have come upon us. We are taught in Holy Scripture that the providence of God overrules the actions of men no less than the operations of nature. Every human agent is to the Lord only as the saw in the hand of him that shaketh it. No man can have any power at all against the object of his hatred or oppression, except it be given him from above. "Man proposes, but God disposes." And therefore, when there is evil in a city or a country, we are to look above the human instrumentalities, and humble ourselves under the hand of God, and inquire why He hath dealt so grievously with us. Especially is this the case in public calamities. For as bodies politic have no existence in the world to come, their judgment and recompense, unlike that of individuals, can take place only in this world. The question which we ought to ask ourselves, therefore, is, "Wherefore hath the Lord dealt thus with His servants?" Many are our national offences. But there is ever a correspondence between the offence and its punishment. And we are to search out the sins and errors for which this special visitation has been sent.

Doubtless one sin for which we are suffering is the base spirit of truckling and pandering to sectional interests and prejudices, which has for so many years characterized the prime movers of our political machinery. Politics have been a mere trade, conducted without honesty or principle, for selfish aggrandizement. Vainly do we look for patriotism in the wire-working of our political parties. The whole government is administered upon the principle of the division of the spoils. There has been no prejudice so opposed to the spirit of our institutions, no sectional interest so degrading, that political leaders, low and high, were not willing to sell themselves to it for votes. There has been no combination of parties too inconsistent, unprincipled and corrupt to be entered into for the sake of office and public money. In particular, the leading political parties have for years been conducted in rivalry of subservience to the interests of slavery. The interests of the nation have been disregarded and sacrificed in disgraceful underbidding for the slaveholding vote. There was no deep so low for one party to descend into that some "lower deep still opening wide" was not discovered by the other. For more than a generation has this system of self-abasement being going on. No wonder that those who have been the objects of this solicitation should have been educated into the idea that the whole government of the country should be conducted for the benefit of slavery. If our unhappy country is now suffering from Southern violence, it has been brought on us by that long and increasing self-abasement of Northern politicians. Especially is this the case with our present agitations. A new scene of commotion had been settled by new concessions, to which, for the sake of peace, all parties had assented. The whole land was at rest and quiet. Slavery was demanding nothing more, and its opponents had made up their minds to acquiesce in the settlement, when, for pure party purposes, and for personal aggrandizement, the time-honoured barrier of freedom was overthrown, as a new bid in the auction which has sacrificed the domain of the nation for the slaveholding vote. Let the authors of the iniquity be nameless here, as they deserve to be in the annals of the Republic. Insane and unprincipled ambition is the source of all the agitation, and turmoil, and bloodshed which has been rending the land asunder. The whole people have witnessed so tamely the successive betrayals of their interests, and voted so docilely on the issue they presented, that hope had been conceived of their unlimited submission. The sectional jealousies which it has stirred up anew, and the attempt to secure, by violence, what slavery understood to be offered it by the measure, is its natural consequence, and the providential punishment of the nation for the iniquity which it sanctioned and encouraged.

Another political sin for which the nation is thus suffering is the neglect of political duty by respectable citizens. We have boasted much of our political rights, but we have been sadly unmindful of our political duties. How large a proportion of the most respectable and influential of our citizens have wholly abstained from the nomination and election of our rulers. The whole business of nominations has been given up to caucuses, chiefly composed of the ambitious and the vile. Assemblies in which no respectable person could appear have brought out candidates of their own for inferior offices, and conventions of interested men have long wrangled out the nomination to higher posts of those to whose election they could pin their own hopes of office to be acquired or retained. All honesty and all patriotism have quite disappeared from our political system. Politics have become a trade so low that few respectable men dare touch it. Not an election can be carried without money, and bargaining and rum. And in consequence not a bill can be carried through our National Legislature without bribes. Yet orderly and respectable citizens see these iniquities without troubling themselves for their correction. Absorbed in their own business and comfort, they leave the rule of the country they care not to whom. And yet they boast of their political rights. But God has given no right without obligation of use. The right of self-government involves the duty of self-government, the duty of selecting and electing the rulers of our people. This sacred duty, due to ourselves, mankind and God, has been wofully neglected, and, therefore, God has turned our neglect into our punishment, and chastized the land with misrule and civil war.

Kindred and consequential to these has been another sin—the entire divorce of the whole system of politics from the fear of God. If respectable men, when they keep aloof from the selection of candidates for office, also threw away their allegiance to party, the evil would be less. But, by a strange confusion of moral sense, the obligation to party is made unquestionable and supreme. No matter what may be the character of its agents—no matter what may be the evil principle or iniquitous measures incorporated in its action, how many good men there are for whom the single consideration, that it is the action of their own party, is enough. They ask no questions, listen to no arguments, recognise no higher authority. How few Christian men ever think of taking counsel of God in questions of public affairs, and giving religion the control of their politics. How few citizens recognise their responsibility to God for their political influence. How few men of principle bring their political conduct to the same tests as their ordinary intercourse. Now, let it be remembered that the ultimate responsibility of every measure rests with the people, and in this matter, as in all others, each one must answer for himself. Caucuses of the idle and dissolute may nominate who they please, leaders of political parties may venture on what iniquities they will, but to the people belongs the responsibility of their adoption. Without the sanction of the people, they sink into the obscurity which they deserve. It is on this principle that God is dealing with us as a people. The American people have been characterized by a blind and unscrupulous adherence to party—the political morality of our country has become a by-word and a hissing—the whole people, by negligence or party spirit, have become partakers in the guilt of actions which, if they had not been in politics, would be a loathing to the moral sense of the community. And, therefore, God has punished the nation with the legitimate results of their own misconduct.

For these national offences God has justly brought upon us disgrace and suffering, and a discord which threatens the direst disasters in the future.

IV. But let us inquire, fourthly, into the *providential design* of these afflictions. What lesson are they sent to teach, what practical end to secure? Why have the truckling subserviency of Northern politicians and the arrogant aggressions of the Slave Power been allowed to proceed so far unchecked, and to bring forth such disastrous fruits? Is it not to bring back the public mind to the views of slavery which were entertained at the formation of our Government, and so to open anew the way for its amelioration and ultimate removal? A great change has come over the public sentiment in regard to slavery within the last twenty-five or thirty years. Previous to that time it found its apologists neither North nor South. It was lamented and deplored on every hand as a necessary evil. The most that could be said in regard to it was that living men were not responsible for its introduction, and that it was not yet safe to attempt its abrogation. All professed to look forward to a time when it should cease to be. With this view all moderate men were satisfied. They blushed at it as an anomaly in the land of freedom, and mourned over it before God as an evil they would not have laid to their charge. The strengthening of liberty, the growth of civilization, and the influence of Christianity, then held out the hope of approaching deliverance. And the feeling of many pious and excellent people is still the same. But the public aspect and expression of slavery is entirely altered. It is now claimed on the one hand, and the doctrine is asserted to on the other, that it is a fundamental part of our national policy; that our Constitution is designed for its protection, and that it is to grow and extend itself without limit on the national territory. All hope and idea of its removal is discarded. It is transformed into a permanent element of American society. The programmes of political leaders now allow no hope to the unfortunate slave and his no less unfortunate master. The inherited evil is transformed into the wilful sin of the present generation. The original sin of slavery is fast becoming, through corrupt politicians, the free-will crime of the American people. This presents the matter in a very different aspect before God and the civilized world. Whatever may be said in the way of temporary extenuation, slavery and human right, slavery and the Christian law of love, are in irreconcilable opposition. To do the best we can with an inherited evil, until Providence permits us to put it away, may receive blessings from the Lord. But, because of some incidental advantages, to resolve on its permanence and extension, will surely receive His curse, and bring ruin to our country. So gradually has the change of temper and purpose been introduced that, as a nation, we were hardly aware of the sin in which we were becoming ensnared. But the recent events have given such a shock to the spirit of freedom as to arouse the nation to perceive the gulf before us. May it be made the means of a recoil of public sentiment which shall put the system of human bondage back where it was at the formation of our Government! May this demonstration of its spirit and tendency prevent all tampering with it in future! Thus God will make the wrath of man to praise Him; and then, doubtless, the remainder of wrath will He restrain.

V. It now remains that we should consider the duties of the present crisis. The time will not allow more than a brief enumeration.

1. The first duty of the crisis is a right public sentiment. Ours is a government of opinion. To public opinion every party and every coalition is compelled to bow. It is mightier than bayonets. The only difficulty is in bringing the national mind to a decision. There is freer circulation of news in this country than in any other, and yet there is surprising ignorance and unconcern of what is taking place in the country. Many of our countrymen have no adequate idea of what has occurred in Kansas. They know that there has been trouble and fighting, but their information is most partial and incorrect. Very few of the political journals have presented a faithful report of facts. They have been advocates and not witnesses, catching up events for special pleading, for party effect, instead of relating the whole truth before the tribunal of the people. Now, let every person seek to inform himself and his neighbours of events as they are. Put the facts before the people. Let them know the outrages which have been committed. Let them understand the spirit which has actuated them, and the end at which they aim. Let them be taught to view the facts and principles of the present crisis, irrespective of party affinities. And who can doubt that the American people will condemn this imbruing of hands in brothers' blood, and tyrannizing over brethren in questions of right, rebuke the aggressor, and spread the mighty shield of public sympathy and favour over the persecuted? This cause is to be tried, not by violence, but at the bar of public opinion. And whenever an intelligent decision on full and impartial testimony shall be given by the tribunal, all the agitators will be powerless. Violent men, on all sides, may threaten what they please. They might as well threaten the Pacific Ocean as the resolved judgment and conscience of the nation. Our first duty is, therefore, to enlighten the public mind. Make the daily journals feel that it is their interest to spread all the facts and the testimony of all sides before their readers. Make use of the mail for distribution of documents to your acquaintances. Organize a system of political colportage, which shall leave tracts at every man's door, and through the crowds at the markets send them everywhere on the wings of the wind. This is the true system of Republican Government, and the true way to correct a public evil.

2. A second duty of the crisis is the pecuniary relief of the sufferers in Kansas. The operations of husbandry have been broken up by ruthless invaders. There will be no crops to nourish the inhabitants. Every department of trade and labour has been so paralyzed by fear and violence that industrious men are without the means of livelihood. Behind all the other enemies of Kansas stalks famine, threatening to complete the extermination. Families are compelled to leave their homes and farms for want of bread. Besides which, insatiable robbery has plundered hundreds of everything that could be carried off. Horses, wagons, oxen, cows, sheep, provisions, clothing, money, have been seized in broad daylight by roving marauders. The suffering inhabitants must return penniless to their former homes, or they must starve on the spot amidst their own fertile but desolated fields. Send them the relief which they need. Cheer their disconsolate spirits by the knowledge that there are thousands of their countrymen who sympathize with their misfortunes and condemn their wrongs. Give them food to eat and raiment to put on. Provide them with bread in the wilderness, and bid them remain and put their trust in the God of forces. The agencies of collection and distribution are already organized. Our brethren in other cities have already begun to pour in their benefactions. Let the city of the peace and liberty-loving Penn imitate their example.

3. The third duty of the crisis is the reinforcement of the pioneers in Kansas with Free State settlers. The organic law of the Territory has guaranteed to its actual settlers the right of determining their own institutions. The American people will see that that right is not defeated by force or fraud. The soil was once consecrated unto freedom. It is yet pledged to freedom, if free men have the enterprise to settle it. If four to one is not a sufficient majority to secure the pledged result, then send ten to one. If 20,000 will not make it free, then pour in 100,000. The law of majorities is to settle it. Let it be so large that force and fraud will be unavailing. Even armed marauders will have to yield to public opinion. Let its expression in the multiplication of liberty-loving settlers be overwhelming. Send men who are industrious and will work; men who are intelligent and know their rights; bold, and will defend them. Send men who are peaceable and patient, who love law and order in its true sense, and have property dependent on its preservation; whose hands love the implements of labour, but who will not hesitate to take down the implements of war to repel the invaders of their households. Send them with their flocks and their herds, with their wives and their little ones, with their saw-mills and their school-masters and their ministers, and let them go up into this land that floweth with milk and honey, and the God who guided Israel will give them an inheritance. The question must be decided not by the rifle and the bowie-knife, but by the axe and the ploughshare. Therefore, appeal to no warlike feeling to send counter-bands of ruffians for counter outrage, but send settlers of the soil, strong in the conviction of right and resolute in the determination to maintain it.

4. The fourth duty of the crisis is the independent and conscientious use of the ballot-box. Let the fear of God and the love of man bring party predilections to an honest argument at the bar of conscience. Party will die, but the country will live. Party will die, but we shall live to answer at a higher tribunal respecting a freeman's privilege and a freeman's duty. We are the sovereigns of the Republic. We are, to decide the issues of opinion and the choice of rulers for ourselves. It matters not what interested and designing men on the one side or on the other may agree upon for selfish ends; it is ours to review and decide the question for ourselves, for the benefit of our country. And it is God's to bring us and them into judgment, and to give sentence on our actions according to truth.

5. And finally and chiefly, the crisis calls us to general humiliation and prayer before God. The Lord's hand is to be seen in our afflictions as well as man's. Vainly would the enemies of the public peace have plotted mischief, if the Lord had not allowed them to bring it to pass in punishment of our sins. And vainly shall we endeavour to escape the punishment, unless we humble ourselves before him who has inflicted it. Many and great have been our sins, individual and national. The Lord has been provoked every day by ingratitude, irreligion and crime. In our prosperity we have forgotten Him who gave us our goodly heritage. We have said: "Who is the Lord; what profit is there if we shall serve Him?" We have been ungrateful for his favours. We have kicked at his judgments. We have gloried in our institutions and Government, as though they were anything without the God who founded them. We have almost deemed it impossible for public and political iniquity to ruin us. And, therefore, we have seen all branches of Government defiled by corruption with an apathy or indolent acquiescence which has made the whole people partakers in the iniquity. Never, till we return unto the Lord, and make our supplication humbly before our Judge, will He remove His chastisements from off our country. All means, all plans will fail without Him. But the Lord is gracious and merciful. He listened to the intercession of Moses for his people, and of Abraham for Sodom; and He will now listen to the prayers of His people. The effectual fervent prayer of the righteous availeth much. Let Christian men, then, humble themselves before God. Let them confess the sins of the people and their own implication in them. Let them plead singly and unitedly with God for His overruling Providence in protection of our country. Let them pray daily and earnestly for their rulers and for all in authority. Let them pray for the defeat of iniquity, and the suppression of violence, and the protection of the depressed. Let them pray for the right guidance of the popular mind in the issues before it. Let us all remember that promotion cometh not from the North or from the West, nor yet from the South, but that the Lord, He putteth down one and raiseth up another, and beseech his intervention. Let us beseech Him to ameliorate sectional animosities, and to turn the hearts of the people like rivers of water to the common good. Let us thus remember God in our calamity, and the God that maketh men to be of one mind in an house will restore peace to our distracted country, and establish our liberties on an impregnable foundation.

VANITAS VANITATUM.

[The Glasgow *Free Press* publishes this as an original poem by Gerald Griffin, which has hitherto slumbered in obscurity.]

The stream that hurries by yon fixed shore
Returns no more;
The wind that dries at morn yon dewy lawn
Breathes and is gone;
Those withered flowers to Summer's ripening glow
No more shall blow;
Those fallen leaves that strew yon garden bed
For aye are dead;
On shore, or sea, or hill, or vale or plain,
Naught shall remain;
Vainly for sunshine fled, and joys gone by,
We heave a sigh.
On, ever on, with unexhausted breath
Time hastes to death;
Even with each word we speak a moment flies—
Is born and dies;
Of all for which poor mortals vainly mourn
Naught shall return.
Life hath its home in heaven and earth beneath,
And so hath death;
Not all the chains that clank in eastern clime
Can fetter time;
For all the phials in the doctor's store
Youth comes no more;
No drugs on age's wrinkled cheek renew
Life's early hue;
Not all the tears by pious mourners shed
Can wake the dead.
If thus through lesser nature's empire wide
Nothing abide—
If wind, and wave, and leaf, and sun, and flower
Have all their hour—
He walks on ice whose dallying spirit clings
To earthly things;
And he alone is wise, whose well-taught love
Is fixed above;
Truths firm and bright, lost oft to mortal ear
Chilling and drear;
Harsh as the raven's croak the sounds that fell
Of pleasure's knell;
Pray, reader, that the minstrel's strain
Not all be vain;
And when thou bend'st to God the suppliant knee
Remember me.

THE MODEL LEGISLATURE.

From The New York Herald of June 11th.

The proceedings in the Senate of the United States yesterday were of rather an animated character, as will be seen in the Washington report, which we subjoin, and we heartily congratulate this free and enlightened nation thereon. Hail Columbia, say we, and long may her Representatives continue to debate upon her interests with that glorious fervour and energy which throws into sickening contrast the feeble and bloodless pulses of the legislative assemblies of the Old World. If our statesmen speak and act strongly, it is because they feel strongly, and well may they do so with the illimitable destinies of the universe in their hands, and themselves entrusted with the glowing mission of development, incarnate in our noble institutions.

Tuesday, June 10th.

On the motion for the second reading of the Old Hoss and Bunkum Railway Extension Bill,

Mr. GLAGGS (Ga.) stated that he should consider it a personal insult to himself and his colleague if the motion were put. The Bill was the audacious spawn of a crawling sycophancy, which ought to be indignantly kicked to bottomless blazes.

Mr. BINCKES (S. C.) concurred in what had fallen from the honourable speaker, and wished he had the same commanding eloquence in which to embody the unutterable disgust which he felt for the framers of the Bill, and for all the despicable wretches who had dared to speak in its favour.

Mr. SAMUEL X. SLODDY (Fa.) had not thought much of the Bill, but was now convinced of its goodness when two such contemptible snags as Glaggs and Binckes howled against it.

Senator Binckes here crossed the floor, and, taking off his coat, and throwing it on the table, began to whip Senator Sloddy some, but was felled to the dust by a ruler in the hand of that patriot, Owkins of Mass. He was at first stunned, but, having liquored, resumed his coat and sent.

Mr. LEGUME (Va.) hoped the debate might be procrastinated until more specific information was before them. It was unworthy of the majestic genius of America to slogdollogize.

A VOICE—Who's slogdollogizing?

ANOTHER VOICE—Greased snakes! Jerusalem! (Sensation.)

Mr. HACTARIS (Penn.)—The bill had been carefully discussed on a previous occasion, and there was no excuse for delay. He would not impute motives to its opponents, but would like to know where the honourable Senator Glaggs obtained the dollars that paid his extravagant hotel bill yesterday.

Mr. GLAGGS—You are a mean dastardly spy.

Mr. HACTARIS—You are a liar.

The Senator from Georgia here fired four shots at the honourable speaker, without any other casualty than killing Piskang, the silent Senator from Columbia, who, being asleep, was unaware of the circumstance. Mr. Hactaris loudly protested against Mr. Glaggs's shooting at him on a second reading, as being out of order, which, strictly speaking, may have been the case.

Mr. WACKLINGBURG (Va.) thought that they were discussing the Bill with almost too much heat. The Railway was wanted.

Mr. BINCKES would be darned if it was.

Mr. WACKLINGBURG wanted it himself (laughter). But, as it seemed to him, the only objection to the Bill was that the undertakers of the railroad were a parcel of beggarly bankrupt loafers, who would never edify a pile or a rail.

Mr. BRANDING (Ohio) was happy to be able to inform the honourable member that he was an infernal falsehood-monger, and that among the